‘Asihlali Phantsi!’: A study of agency among isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my parents for inspiring my academic aspirations; to Lwazi and Tumelo, my daughters, for enduring the hardships and sacrifices during my PhD journey.

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Abstract

This study examined how isiXhosa-speaking women street traders in Cape Town's Langa Township exercised agency in responding to similar structural constraints and opportunities that affected their livelihoods. Drawing on Giddens's Structuration Theory and Sen's Capabilities Approach, I unpacked and conceptualised agency as five dimensions (reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action and transformative capacity). This analytical framework was then used to assess the ways in which women from a poor township community exercised their agency as street traders. A case study methodology (n=25) was adopted using participant observation and in-depth interviews. Miles and Huberman's thematic coding approach guided the qualitative analysis. The study found that structurally imposed constraints were rooted in class, multiple sources of power dynamics, and material constraints related to health; while opportunities emanated from market mechanisms of supply and demand, community social support systems in the form of social capital and social networks, family support and statutory social welfare programmes. Other key findings included resistance to patriarchy, cultural norms and practices, such as submission to abusive partners and unreasonable demands from extended family members. The findings report structure and agency as mutually constitutive in so far as familial circumstances, previous work experience, social capital, educational achievements and temporality either reinforced or diminished the participants' agency. Three profiles of agency among the women traders emerged from the data. The profiles demonstrated varying degrees of enablement (most enabled, moderately enabled and least enabled) and that individual agency was a distinguishing factor. Reflexivity, as a dimension of agency, presented as more fluid and malleable than the other four dimensions. The findings show that agency is reasonably elastic and it can expand capabilities and opportunities for enablement. Finally, the study proposed a diagnostic tool for assessing and enhancing agency with potential applications in entrepreneurial training for development. My study contributes to a theoretical understanding of the concept of agency, the role it plays in development at a micro-level and criteria for assessment. Furthermore, lessons learnt from the profiles can be applied to development practice and entrepreneurial training among African women traders.

Glossary of terms[1]

Agency: According to Giddens (2010:73), agency 'refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place'.

Capability Approach (CA): A broad normative and evaluative framework for development pioneered by Amartya Sen, (1999) that advocates for expansion of people's freedom from multiple dimensions of poverty by creating an enabling social, economic and political environment.

Capability: Capability in this study refers to opportunities available to women traders that allow them to choose one type of life over another. These include being able to choose between doing domestic and care-giving duties in the home or earning an income by running trading businesses.

Constraints associated with power: Giddens (1984:183) refers to 'constraining aspects of power experienced as sanctions of various kinds ranging from direct application of force or violence or the threat of such application to the mild expression of disapproval'. In this thesis, constraints associated with power denote manifestations of power struggles, including violence, jealousy and other subtle forms of competing wills.

Cultural capital: This concept derives from Bourdieu's writings on social markers of bounded classes, where he has defined it as an understanding of how things 'work' or 'operate' (e.g., the schooling system, the labour market) (Seekings, 2008:3). I use the term 'cultural capital' with reference to how a person's position on the social ladder has influenced her knowledge of market systems.

Cultural identity: Giddens (1984:265,282) uses this term to denote shared symbols and values that permeate various spheres of life, such as religion, myths, moral obligations, kinship relations and activities among certain groups of people in society. Here the term refers to how participants identified themselves as isiXhosa-speaking women in relation to their values, kinship ties, beliefs, obligations and the traditional practices of their families and communities.

Enablement: A term used by Giddens (1984) as an antonym for constraint, it refers to the ability to open up certain possibilities for actions, and not to restricting them (Giddens:

[1] Unless indicated otherwise, Giddens and/or Sen mainly inform the meanings of the terms listed here. I have used their work extensively in my study. I discuss key terms in detail in the thesis.

1984:173). Sen alludes to opportunities or substantive freedoms that allow a person to lead the kind of life he or she values (Sen, 1999:87). Here the term means the ability to create possibilities for actions and achievements.

Material constraints: Giddens (1984:175) defines material constraint as limitation imposed by the physical, psychological and mental capacities of the human body and by features of the physical environment, that, in a way, limit their capabilities and the feasible options open to them.

Motivation: Giddens (1984:5) defines motivation as 'wants which prompt actions'. In the thesis, the operational definition for motivation is the internal drive that gave rise to the participants' actions and decisions to run trading businesses.

Purposive action: In defining agency, Giddens (2010:73) emphasises the notion of exerting power to produce an effect and to the perpetration of actions that result in changes in circumstances. The operational definition used here understands 'action' as that which the women traders in the study do in their trading businesses and personal and family lives in pursuit of particular goals.

Quality of life: Sen (1999:24) uses this concept to denote 'the way human life goes (perhaps even the choices one has) and not just on the resources or income that a person commands'. In the thesis, the term is evaluative and refers to improvements in the women's standard of living which derive from their trading businesses. The basic indicators of improvements include being adequately clothed, well fed, acquiring better shelter etc.

Rationality: Rationalisation of action, according to Giddens (1984:4), refers to 'processes that actors routinely engage in [which maintain] …. a continuing theoretical understanding of the grounds of their activity'. The operational definition of rationality refers to expressed reasoning and thinking behind participants' decisions and actions made about their trading businesses in the context of social relationships, community life and the market.

Reflexivity: By reflexive monitoring of actions, or reflexivity, Giddens (1984:3) refers to the process that actors engage in when they 'monitor continuously the flow of their activities and expect others to do the same for their own'. Social actors also monitor the environments that shape the ongoing flow of their social life. The operational definition for reflexivity is appraisals that participants perform in relation to self, others and broader environments.

Social capital: Social capital means 'embedded resources in social networks', and is a form of 'investment in social relations with expected returns' (Lin, 1999:28, 30). In the thesis, the role of family, relationships in the community, organised groups and the broader community of Langa presented a rich source of strength, support and linkage to information, knowledge and important resources.

Social reproduction: In explicating Structuration Theory (ST), Giddens (1984:24, 25) focuses on how 'day- to- day activities of social actors draw upon and reproduce structural features of wider social systems'. The structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices recursively organised by human agents across time and space. In the thesis, I refer to social reproduction by giving primacy to how people shape and in turn are shaped by the economic, political and social spheres that influence their lives.

Structures: Giddens (2010:81) defines structures as 'the recursively organised sets of rules, habits and resources that are necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the social system". In this thesis, structures are markers of types of societal organisation, such as race, class, gender, power and patriarchy, that individuals are born into and that influence their circumstances in life.

Structural constraints: Structural constraints, according to Giddens (1984:177), are social contexts that individuals are born into which limit their capabilities. In the thesis, the concept refers to structurally derived limitations imposed by conditions, such as poverty, patriarchy, familial background, socio-historical context and educational levels.

Structural opportunities: Sen (1999) uses the term, instrumental freedoms and structural opportunities as synonyms, these include, *inter alia*, political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. In the thesis, structural opportunities refer to different resources and forms of enablement that enhance participants' life chances in social, economic and political spheres.

Transformation: In defining an agent, Giddens gives primacy to exerting power to effect change and making a difference (Giddens, 2010:75). I use the term here to mean the capacity of a business operation to effect changes in the lives of the participants.

Wellbeing outcomes: Sen (1999:74) uses this concept to refer to a person's ability to pursue objectives that fulfil physical, psychological and social wellbeing. Here the concept means the

various objectives that the women traders sought to achieve, from running their businesses to fulfil their lives.

Local colloquial terms used in the thesis

Bakkie – Pickup truck

Braai – Barbecue

Matric – High school-completion certificate

Sangoma/igqirha –Traditional healer

Spaza shop – Kiosk/tuck shop located in townships

Stokvel – Township community savings group initiatives

Ukubekelwa/Ukuthakata – Bewitchment

Ukutwala – Traditional practice of arranged marriages

Vetkoek/amagwinya – Dough bun fried in oil served plain or filled with meat or vegetables

Vukuzenzele – Rise and do for yourself (a campaign for self-employment and informal trading)

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Chapter 1| Introduction

1.1 Point of departure

Central to women's empowerment is the enhancement of their ablity to navigate structural constrants and opportunities in their social contexts to improve their wellbeing. Discourses on women's informal trading businesses in South African townships tend to highlight the disproportionate effects of structural constraints. This is not surprising, as empirical evidence from South African townships indicates that poverty and patriarchy are more constraining on women than on men (Cole, 1987; Cooper, 1995; Orner, 2006). In addition, research shows that these women have too little time after work to exploit training opportunities and they do not have access to financial resources and information, all of which undermine their prospects for success (Hietalahti & Linden, 2006; Kabeer, 1999; Sengendo, 2006; Chiloane & Mayhew, 2010; Schmahmann, 2007). Development literature from the global South and United Nations reports often emphasise the constraints that women living in poverty experience, which downplays the role of individual agency in human development. (See, for example, *Invisible Women Report* (International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) & United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2019); *Women and girls education* (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) & United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2010). While the above studies provide an understanding of the socio-economic and political contexts that working class women face, they do not help us understand the ways in which these women respond to the constraints, nor how they exercise agency. Indeed, the common perception that women living in poverty are victims reinforces a sense of helplessness and passive submission to the status quo as it removes the possibility and opportunity that they are self-determined agents who have the power to intervene and transform their circumstances and lives. The Capability Approach, for instance, postulates the pivotal role of agency in women's development.

Nevertheless, there is extensive evidence in the literature positing that despite the structural constraints of poverty and patriarchy, some women are able to grasp the few opportunities available in their deprived circumstances and operate as agents who can themselves transform

their own lives (Kabeer, 1995; Robeyns, 2005; Alikire, 2002; Schmahmann, 2007; Hietalahti & Linden, 2006). For example, in Kenya and Uganda, women who pursue agricultural activities have used passive resistance and non-confrontational tactics to overcome patriarchal practices when their husbands excluded them from farming decisions and deprived them choices to cultivate their preferred crops (Kabeer, 1999; Sengendo, 2006). They resisted by focusing their farming activities on their assigned kitchen plots; they grew the crops that they chose against their husbands' wishes, while at the same time they adopted conciliatory tactics to avoid conflict, and also formed coalitions with other women farmers who rejected male domination (Kabeer, 1999; Sengendo, 1996).

Despite the fact that studies on women's self-help projects and development activities in the Global South have provided evidence of women asserting themselves as agents in their own lives, agency and the different ways it manifests to promote human development have been little studied. Indeed, there are studies on how working-class women strive to alleviate poverty for example, by participating in entrepreneurial and agricultural activities (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Sengendo, 2006; Strier & Abdeen, 2009), few of them emphasise the importance of agency as a necessary factor.

Cichello et al.'s study (2011) identifies the barriers that prevent individuals in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township from becoming entrepreneurs. This study is useful, because it names the types of barriers that black African entrepreneurs in other townships are likely to encounter. However, it does not offer detailed, in-depth information because it is not a qualitative study. It does not address the important role of agency in navigating constraints and opportunities.

Literature searches of EBSCOHOST databases, the SA ePublications database, and the Nexus Database on the National Research Foundation have not turned up any South African studies that deal with the agency of black African women traders (http://search.ebscohost.com; http://www.sabinet.co.za; htttp://stardata.nrf.ac.za). My study attempts to address this oversight in the literature and also to contribute to debates on structure and agency in the context of development and gender in Africa.

My thesis sheds light on **how** individual agency plays a central role in development and poverty alleviation by using agency as a lens to understand the transformative capacity of women living in poverty. It examines the ways in which isiXhosa-speaking women traders from Cape Town's Langa Township responded to both structural constraints and to opportunities that affected their businesses, in order to learn how their efforts to alleviate poverty show they exercised agency.

This introductory chapter locates informal trading in the wider informal economy, reflects on my position as a researcher, outlines the aim and rationale of the research, the central research question and three sub-questions; it also provides a brief description of the location of the study, the research methodology, the value of the study and, finally, details of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Locating informal trading in the wider informal economy

Defining informal trading is a complex task as there is no single definition that captures the multiple perspectives on informal economies. Identifiable perspectives include, dualists, structuralists, legalists and voluntarists (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016:335).The dualists first promoted by International Labour Organisation (ILO) distinguishes the informal sector that provide income and safety nets to the poor as marginal and unrelated to the formal sector (Berner, Gomez & Knorringa, 2012). Structuralists take an opposite view by construing the informal economy of subordinated units and workers connected to the formal economy through competitive reduction of inputs and labour costs. Legalists view the informal sector as consisting of "plucky" micro-entrepreneurs who deliberately chose to avoid the costs of formal registration and who need property rights. Voluntarists, a variant of the legalist school maintain that informal sector comprises mainly of self-employed entrepreneurs who volunteer to work informally as a strategic choice (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016:335). In addition, multiple factors influence the entrance of people into informal economies.

Statistics South Africa (2014) defines the informal sector economy as comprising of two components namely, employees working in establishments that employ fewer than five employees, who do not deduct income tax from their salaries/wages; and ii) Employers, own-account workers and unpaid persons helping in their household business who are not registered for either income tax or value-added tax (Khosa & Khalitanyi, 2014). In my thesis, I draw on Willemse's (2011:7) definition, "informal businesses and informal traders refer only to people who conduct street trading on a small scale, mostly from street pavements and who as a group offer a large variety of basic products and services to prospective clients". In my thesis, connections between the informal and formal economy are conceived as interconnected rather than separate entities thus aligning to the structuralist perspective of informality.

In South Africa, considering the high rate of unemployment, the informal economy comprises of a relatively small sector of the economy (Cohen, 2010). Within the informal sector there is diversity in terms of occupational groups and activities, location of workplaces as well as a

continuum of success from survivalists to more profitable entrepreneurial activities (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016; Khosa & Khalitanyi; Berner, Gomez & Knorringa, 2012). Outlining a typology of entrepreneurship, Berner, Gomez and Knorringa (2012:387) describe a continuum of informal trading based on the rationale for entry and degree of motivation from survivalist to growth-orientated informal traders. The characteristics of survivalists include: street economy, substance, and low capital, female dominated and embedded in family and kin network. Growth orientated informal traders are typically small scale family enterprises in the intermediate sector, opportunity driven, petty bourgeoisie, male dominated and embedded in business networks (Berner, Gomez & Knorringa, 2012:387).

Pertinent to development policy, is the realisation that systemic and structural drivers shape the way people develop livelihoods and the way those livelihoods connect to formal, informal enterprises and institutions (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016:336; Rogerson, 2014; Motala, 2008). Broader macro-economic trends, the legal regulatory environment and value chain dynamics also impact informal trading (Berner, Gomez & Knorringa, 2012; Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016). Liberalization policies engendered unstable global financial flows triggered by the onset of the economic crisis in 2008 shape the informal economy (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016; Cohen, 2010). While urbanisation is increasing, cities are deindustrialising, fewer formal jobs are being created as production is outsourced, leading to changes in the nature of work, structure of labour markets and increase in informal employment in an increasingly globalised, trade and technology driven economy (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016; Rogerson, 2014).

In South Africa, informal economies operate within policy frameworks that are designed to stimulate local economic development (LED). For example, the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 provides the core principles, mechanisms and processes necessary to enable the municipality to promote social and economic development of local communities (Rogerson, 2014:206). Local economic development encompasses improving the local business environment, building local skills, cluster development of small, medium and micro-enterprises as well as encouraging trust and partnerships between private sector, public institutions and civil society (Rogerson, 2014; Berner, Gomez & Knorringa, 2012). In addition, the government departments of Trade and Industry and Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs are meant to collaborate to reduce "red tape" and costs that inhibit small and medium enterprises in municipalities; examples include the high costs of compliance with administrative rules, regulations and procedures which impedes market access (Rogerson, 2014:210).

Despite the imperative of LED policies binding local municipalities to support informal economies, policies and practices of local governments impact negatively on informal trading. Tensions manifests between informal traders and municipal governments when the latter provide inadequate service delivery causing occupational health and safety risks. Municipalities engage in adhoc "sanitizing" measures through forced evictions, relocations to less profitable trading spaces and collisions around occupation of urban private and public spaces (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016; Sassen, Galvan & Duncan, 2018; Motala, 2008). City governments exacerbate the marginalisation of informal livelihoods by regulating and defining activities as legal or formal while criminalising those that they deem illegal and informal thus asserting state power (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2018). By so doing, they often destroy urban livelihoods.

Writing on women informal traders' experiences in Cape Town city centre, Sassen, Galvan and Duncan (2018:29) outlined socio-economic and structural barriers that restrict traders from sustaining their livelihoods and exercise autonomy over their lives. Socio-economic barriers include competition with other traders selling similar products in a saturated market (See Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2014) limited access to business finance, balancing work and family responsibilities, expensive trading permits and risking confiscation of products when selling without permits. Khosa & Kalitanyi (2014:205) further highlights that the context of informal trading in South Africa, Cape Town not the least is fraught with competition from African migrants (Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Burundi and Angola) engendering Xenophobic attacks on the migrant businesses. Among the structural barriers are: the lack of government support to street trading endeavours, lack of security for tenure, restrictive legislation and exclusion from decision making processes affecting their trading. Informal traders tend to have limited levels of education, a lack of knowledge of the by-laws and their rights further constrain them from making decisions about their trading (ibid: 2018).

Despite the constraints that women traders in Sassen, Galvin and Duncan's (2018) study, they found that the women expressed gains from their trading such as financial independence, interconnectedness other traders, developing personal attributes like determination and resilience as well as taking ownership and control of one's lives. In addition to structural and economic factors contributing to entrance into informal trading, family and social values influenced women traders to seek opportunities for self-reliance (ibid: 2018). Given these gendered dimensions of informal trading, context of legal regulation, social insecurity and precarious nature of informal trading, urban development practice has a crucial role to play in

advocating for greater economic inclusion of informal trading (Chen, Roever & Skinner,2016; Motala, 2008).

1.3 Situating myself as a researcher

Both personal and professional factors influenced my choice of a group of isiXhosa-speaking women traders as a case study. I lived in Langa Township (hereafter referred to as Langa) for two months when I first arrived in Cape Town from Zimbabwe to work in the banking industry. The harsh realities of poverty, inequality and social exclusion experienced by black people in Cape Town confronted me and made me realise that my true calling lay elsewhere. I proceeded to enrol for a university degree in Social Development (historically known as Social Work) at the University of Cape Town. On completing my degree, I worked as a social development practitioner among poverty-stricken communities on the Cape Flats. My experiences as a social development practitioner, a woman and an immigrant alerted me to the fact that some black women from similar cultural groups and social class were more successful in responding to structural constraints than others. My curiosity led me to ask questions about the relationship between the social structures in these communities and agency. I used trading businesses as an entry point to investigate this phenomenon. I asked questions about their circumstances and the ways they ran their businesses. While there were some similarities in the ways all of them exercised agency, there were also some differences. Could these patterns in the behaviour of women street traders begin to explain why some were more successful than others? What could be learnt about agency that is relevant to development? These initial observations and questions evolved into my PhD research.

Notwithstanding my prior knowledge of the structural constraints and experiences of women in townships in Cape Town, my relationship with my case study participants was that of an outsider. As a black middle-class immigrant woman, I could not claim to know exactly how the women traders in my study experienced their social worlds. When I assumed the role of researcher I was able to find a way into their world and lives. My training as social worker, familiarity with Langa and my ability to speak isiXhosa helped me to negotiate entry into the community and to recruit research participants and conduct fieldwork. My theoretical and practical knowledge derived from casework, community development and other development courses prepared me for the data collection and the analytical stages of the study. I went into the field with an open mind, I was prepared to learn from the women traders because I knew that my years of study could not match their knowledge of their lived realities.

As a researcher using an interpretivist approach, I sought to make sense of how women traders continuously constructed and assigned meanings to their social worlds (Babbie & Mouton, 2007; Bhana & Kanjee, 2001; Snape & Spencer, 2003). I wanted to produce knowledge that was sensitive to and respectful of the women traders' own understandings of their social world (Bhana & Kanjee, 2001; Snape & Spencer, 2003).

1.4 Research overview

The aim of the study was to contribute to sociological theory and development practice. It was thus located in sociological debates on structure and agency. The study also sought to understand how agency contributes to human development. To gain a profound understanding of agency in the target group, I posed the following central research question: *How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township exercise agency in the ways in which they respond to the structural constraints and potential opportunities that affect their businesses?* I further explored the phenomenon by asking the following three sub questions:

1) What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?

2) How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter?

3) What do we learn about agency from the ways in which these African working class women respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?

My study was guided by Giddens' Structuration Theory (ST) and Sen's Capability Approach (CA). My theoretical framework was not only helpful in the conceptual, operational and analytical stages of my study, but it also provided me with a theoretical language to enter into, and to contribute to, debates about structure and agency.

Giddens (2010) asserts that, even in circumstances of social limitations in which individuals have little choice, they may still choose to act and not passively accept their lot. In his ST, Giddens articulates a dualistic perspective on structure and agency. He posits that structures, as rules and resources, exert influence on individuals and, in turn, individuals act in ways that shape the same institutions. Social institutions cannot exist without the individuals who comprise them. Thus, society is dependent upon the actions of individuals (Giddens, 2009; Fuchs, 2010; Graaff, 2006). Structuration Theory is relevant to my study in that it delineates the conceptual and contextual framework of structure (structural constraints and structural

opportunities) and of agency (as recursive practices that people engage in to change their life circumstances and thereby shape social systems).

While Giddens is the main theorist, Amartya Sen's CA was grafted onto ST to add value to the study. I discuss the rationale for this decision later. CA complements Giddens's Structuration Theory because of its applicability to development initiatives which promote women's empowerment (Alkire, 2008; Sen, 1999; Robeyns, 2003; Kabeer, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). As an evaluative tool, the CA provides a basis for assessing the progress of development initiatives by measuring the extent to which people are free to exercise their agency and how enabling their structural environments are (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1999). Robeyns (2003:62) notes that the CA also sheds light on gender inequality. According to Sen (1999), women exercising their agency is a prerequisite for self-reliance and bottom-up development. Sen documents women playing an active role in the economic, political and social development of their communities and society; however, in the context of development, women's agency must be understood in relation to their often being denied substantive freedoms. Structural constraints for example manifests in poverty indicators from the Global South that reveal high levels of gender inequality, low female literacy rates, and high fertility rates (Sen, 1999). The denial of substantive freedoms points to the constraints under which women operate as they strive to overcome poverty. Consequently, Sen (1999:189) advocates a shift from the conventional approach, which views women as passive recipients of help in the form of welfare, to a view of women as active agents of change in exploiting opportunities for them to improve their own welfare and that of their households.

I drew on Giddens's ST and Sen's CA to unpack and conceptualise agency as five dimensions (reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action and transformative capacity). These theoretical dimensions shaped the core analytical framework, which I then used to assess the ways in which women traders from a poor community exercised their agency in relation to both their businesses and families as well exploring how the two were interlinked.

1.5 The site of the study

I chose Langa as the location of this study because it typifies a South African township where poverty is endemic. In addition, black African women traders in Langa are usually members of one of the traders associations which made it easier for me to gain access to them through their leaders.

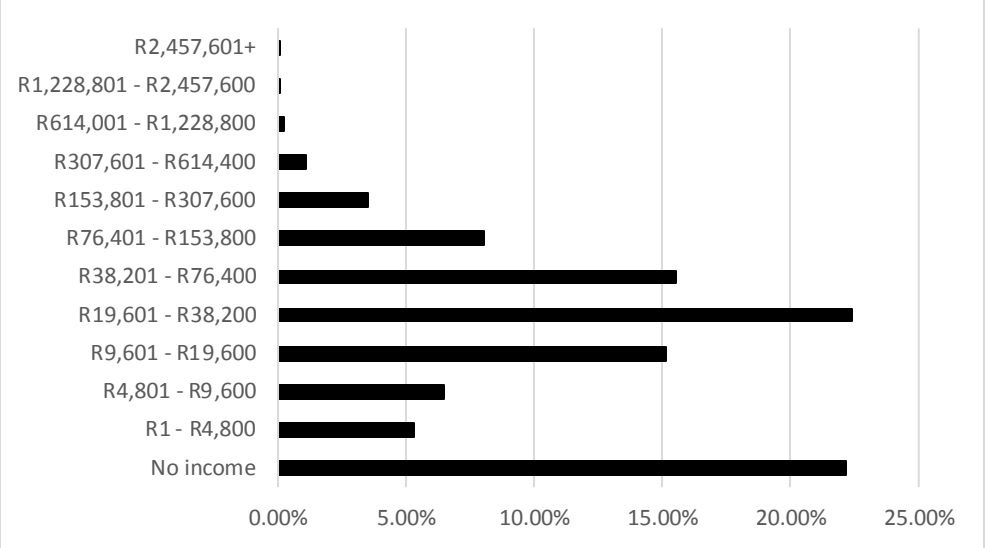
Langa was established in 1927. Historically it is one of the three areas in Cape Town where black Africans could reside according to the Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923, which restricted their movement to prescribed areas. Table 1.1 shows that the 2011 South African Census records Langa having a population of 52 401 and being classified a high-density township with 16 958 people per square kilometre. Poverty indicators identified by Statistics South Africa (2013), include, *inter alia*, limited access to piped water and toilets, informal settlement housing and low levels of education. For example, as Table 1.1 indicates, only 33.1 percent of the residents achieved a Matric level of education and 57.5 percent live in formal dwellings. It is also noteworthy that, of the 17 402 households, nearly half are female-headed. In my study 13 out of the 25 women participants were heads of their households.

Table 1.l Selected statistics about Langa pertinent to the study demographic and poverty indicators.

Key Characteristics	Statistics	Key characteristics	Statistics
Total Population	52 401	**Number of households**	17 402
Working Age (15-64)	71.7 %	**Female headed households**	41.7%
Population density	16 958 persons per square kilometre	**Formal dwellings**	57.5%
Matric aged 20+	33.1%	**Piped water inside dwelling**	49.6%
		Flush toilet connected to sewerage system	72.4%

(Source**:** Statistics South Africa, 2013)

Figure 1.1 shows the range of annual household income and corresponding percentages of households in specific income range categories. In Langa, about 22 percent of households have no formal income, while about 22 percent have an annual income of between R19 601 and R38 200. These statistics indicate that the majority of Langa residents are poor. There is however a small emerging lower middle class made up of civil servants, clerical workers and small-scale entrepreneurs. Drawing on Sen's CA, my study brought to light a number of other dimensions of poverty, for example, violence, ill health, and crime and gender inequality that dominated the participants' daily lives.



(Source: Statistics South Africa, 2013)

Figure 1.1 Annual Household income and corresponding percentages of households in specific income range categories.

The women in this study traded in Zone 16 of Langa, an area surrounding the Langa taxi rank (see Figure 1.2 below for a map of the research site and appendix H1 for details thereof). Although not all Langa traders belonged to associations, those who did were members of either the Ukuphuma Kwelanga or Langa Business Forum. Membership of these associations give traders greater bargaining power, for example, when dealing with the Municipality of Cape Town, or when they need access to business services.

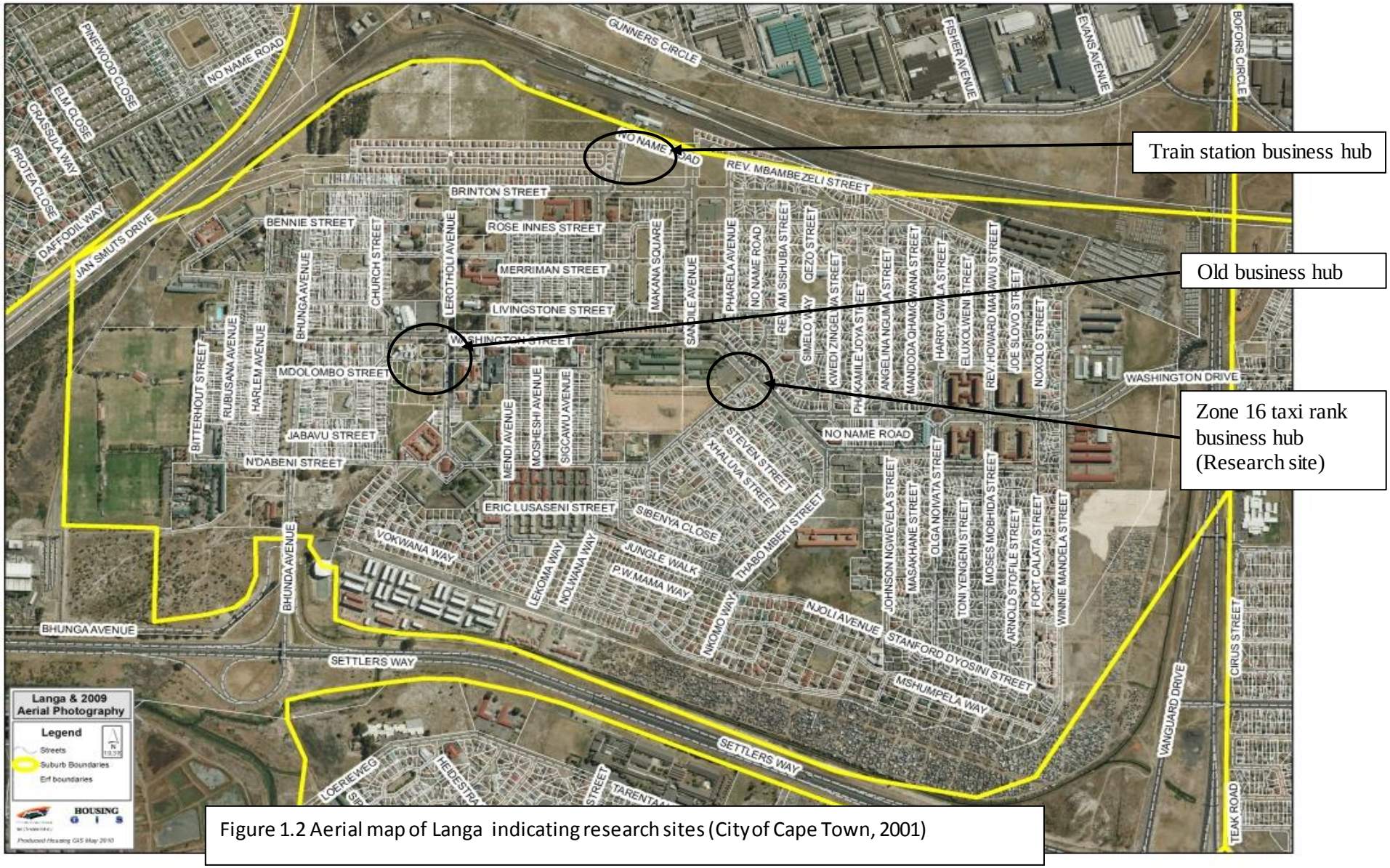


Figure 1.2 Aerial map of Langa indicating research sites (City of Cape Town, 2001)

My research participants' businesses included fruit and vegetables vending, grocery kiosks or *spaza* shops, meat braaiing stands and open market butcheries. In the photos below, which were taken during fieldwork in July 2013, I show typical trading sites that can be found in Langa and in other townships across South Africa.

Figure 1.3 Fruit and vegetable stall (Source: Mpofu-Mketwa)

Figure 1.4 Meat braai (barbecue) stand (Source, Mpofu-Mketwa)

1.6 Methodology

I adopted a case study research design. I chose what Yin (2009) calls a multiple-case holistic design by comparing 25 different cases. I sought to understand social phenomena in depth in accordance with Yin's (2009:47) approach to case studies. My primary data collection methods were participant observation and in-depth interviewing. I also consulted additional sources, such as municipal officers, traders' association leaders and did desktop research on social policies relating to informal trading, to get a more holistic perspective on the trading environment. I conducted the study in isiXhosa. An isiXhosa-speaking student and I transcribed and translated the interviews. Miles and Huberman's thematic coding approach guided the qualitative analysis of data, which consisted of field notes and transcripts. NVivo text analysis software was used to analyse the textual data.

1.7 Value of the study

This thesis contributes to the fields development and gender studies by inductively building from my analysis of qualitative data three profiles of women traders based on their different ways of exercising agency. The most enabled profile demonstrated a higher degree of enablement than the other two profiles; the moderately enabled profile showed a lesser degree of enablement than the most enabled but more than the least enabled, and the third profile manifested much less enablement than the other two. The least enabled profile exercised agency in ways that were mostly disenabling.

Profiling helped me to go beyond the details of individuals' responses to reveal the patterns in the data amidst opportunities and constraints. By analysing patterns in the data and building profiles, I sketched an holistic picture of how participants exercised their agency. This in turn led me to propose a pedagogical tool for development training. Thus this academic work has important practical applications in development practice. The proposed tool assesses agency in women entrepreneurers based on a set criteria for enablement and prepares the ground for supportive interventions.

The thesis also contributes to the sociological debates on structure and agency, which I discuss later.

1.8 Organisation of the dissertation

This thesis has 13 chapters structured as follows:

- **Chapter 1 Introduction** provides an overview of the study.
- **Chapter 2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework** unpacks Giddens's Conceptual Framework, the thesis's dominant theory; certain aspects from Sen are grafted onto the theoretical framework in order to address specific deficits or gaps in Giddens's theory.
- **Chapter 3 Methodology** discusses preparatory work done before conducting fieldwork, the case study design, designing of data collection tools, pilot study, data collection, data analysis and strategies used to enhance the quality of the study.
- **Chapter 4 Findings: Structural Constraints and structural opportuities** responds to the first part of the first sub-question; it presents the structural constraints experienced by the women traders and structural opportunities that were available to the women traders.
- **Chapter 5 Findings: Reflexivity** begins to answer the second sub-question on how women traders in the study exercised agency by engaging in reflexive monitoring of their own actions, others' actions and, their trading environment in responding to structural constraints and opportunities.
- **Chapter 6 Findings: Motivation** presents findings on how participants were motivated and set their goals.
- **Chapter 7 Findings: Rationality** discusses how participants reasoned and made decisions about business strategies and operations.
- **Chapter 8 Findings: Purposive Actions** presents participants' business, family or community-orientated actions assessed in terms of the degree of enablement.
- **Chapter 9 Findings: Evidence of Transformation**, the last chapter in the series on findings, discusses the extent to which the women traders transformed their lives by exercising agency in their trading businesses.
- **Chapter 10 Findings**: **Profiling**, summarises the profiles that emerged from the data on the five dimensions of agency.
- **Chapter 11: Discussion of Key Findings** discusses the following findings: profiling, reflexivity and enablement, resistance to patriarchy, cultural norms and structure and agency as mutually constitutive.
- **Chapter 12: Proposed Development Tool** proposes the basics of a diagnostic tool for training in the context of entrepreneurial development among women.

- **Chapter 13: Conclusion** summarises the key findings, the contributions of the inquiry to sociological theory and entrepreneurial skills development and possible areas for future research.

Chapter 2| Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that informed the study. I drew primarily on Giddens's ST and grafted in Sen's CA for more robustness in conceptual development and data analysis. In social science research it is common practice to supplement theoretical frameworks to understand the complex social world by using previously developed theory as a basis for analytic generalisations (Tellis, 1997; Yin, 2009; 38). Because he conceptualises agency as multidimensional processes of reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive actions and transformation, Giddens is the dominant theorist for the inquiry. The rationale for choosing ST as the principal theory stems from my knowledge of the research field, by observing how women traders exercised agency through their trading activities to alleviate poverty. Sen's CA informed the study by providing an evaluative framework for assessing wellbeing outcomes. Furthermore, he delineates structural opportunities and directs attention to context-specific inequalities more precisely and relevantly to development practice than Giddens. In electing to use the CA in my study, I was also complying with the theoretical and epistemological considerations germane to the approach. As an approach and not a theory, the CA plays a supplementary role to well-developed theories like ST (Robeyns, 2005). This theoretical framework was not only helpful in enhancing the conceptual, operational and analytical stages of the study, but it also provided me with an entry point and opportunity to contribute to sociological debates on structure and agency. I begin with a discussion of ST, followed by theoretical debates on structure and agency. I move on to demonstrate how ST and the CA fit into the structure and agency debates. Lastly, I present how Sen's and Giddens's work complement each other in developing a theoretical framework for my study, informing the research questions and guiding the analytical process.

2.1 Structuration Theory

Giddens' dualistic perspective on structure and agency posits that structures, as properties of social systems, exert influence on individuals. In turn, individuals act in ways that shape the same institutions. Social institutions cannot exist without the individuals who comprise them (Giddens, 1984:25). As Giddens (1984:304) aptly states, structures "exist only in their instantiation in the knowledgeable activities of situated human subjects which reproduce them as properties of social systems embedded in spans of time and space". Thus, there is a parallel process of enactment of routine practices and system reproduction. Rational social actors,

through their routinized activities, draw upon the rules and resources, which are structures to reproduce the same structures (Giddens, 1984; Giddens, 2009; Graaff, 2006; Fuchs, 2010). For example, in executing their daily trading activities, structures such as race, class, ethnicity and gender influenced the isiXhosa-speaking women traders in this study. They drew on institutional rules and resources, such as global and local institutions that influence trade, commerce and economic systems, to recreate trading practices and related structures. It would therefore be theoretically unsound to attribute the actions of the women traders solely to some unspecified social forces. There is evidence of rationality, knowledgeability, intentionality and motivation in their trading practices. Neither can we attribute their actions exclusively to their subjective rationality and knowledge because they draw their knowledge from structures (Giddens, 1984:24). They continue to shape the structures pertinent to their lives, which Giddens refers to as properties of social systems, through their routinised enactment of trading activities.

ST is relevant to the study in that it delineates the conceptual and contextual framework of structure (structural constraints and structural opportunities) and of agency (as recursive practices that people engage in to change their life circumstances and thereby shape social systems) (Giddens, 1984:24). By applying ST to sociological research, Giddens (1984:288) delineates two types of methodological applications, namely, "the analysis of strategic conduct" and 'institutional analysis". The analysis of strategic conduct emphasises discursive and practical consciousness, knowledgeability, motivation, dialectic of control, and ways that actors draw upon structural properties within defined contextual boundaries and social relations. Institutional analyses focus on structural properties as regularly reproduced features of social systems (Giddens, 1984:288). As my study focused on the actions of human agents, I am interested in the analysis of strategic conduct of women traders as they draw on structures to alleviate poverty and contribute to the reproduction of structures in their bounded contexts and social relations.

2.2 Theoretical debates on structure and agency

In sociology and other social sciences, there is a long-standing debate about whether structure or agency has the greater influence on human behaviour. This chapter focuses on three broad theoretical positions within the debate. Some social theorists argue that structures of society determine human behaviour and social existence. Large-scale structures influence individual behaviour through biological drives, social structure and cultural factors (Graaff, 2004; Kogler,

2010; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). Durkheim, for example, argued that structures determine the actions of individuals in an objective way, that is, in the same way that the walls of a building constrain individuals (Giddens, 1984:169-173; King, 2010; Ritzer, 2008). Theorists who emphasise individual and collective agency take an opposite view by emphasising the ability of human agents to construct and reconstruct their social worlds. The Interpretivist tradition, Hermeneutic tradition and Symbolic Interactionism belong in this category. Symbolic Interactionism, for example, emphasises meaning, actors, identity and consciousness as opposed to larger scale structures influencing human behaviour through biological drives and social structure as postulated by determinist (sometimes-called structuralist) perspectives (Giddens, 1984:19; Graaff, 2004; Kogler, 2010; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). A third theoretical category attempts a middle position between these two, which sees structure and agency as complementary processes. They accept that structure influences human behaviour, but argue that humans are agents capable of changing the social structures or systems in which they live. Giddens's ST belongs to this third category.

The rationale for using Giddens' ST stem from his work's contribution to the understanding of individual action within the constraints and resources or opportunities provided by the social order (Giddens, 2009; Fuchs, 2010; Hubbard, 2000; Layder, Ashton & Sung, 1991; Ritzer, 2008; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). Giddens attempts to bridge the gap between the deterministic and the hermeneutic approaches. He acknowledges the notion of a rational agent, the hermeneutic position, yet agrees that structural constraints and opportunities do influence human behaviour (Giddens, 1984:23-24; Giddens, 2010; Hubbard, 2000; Layder et al., 1991; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010; Ritzer, 2008). In ST, social actors draw upon rules and resources, which are properties of social systems, through social practices, thereby creating conditions that govern the continuity and transmission of structures and social systems (Giddens, 1984:171; Giddens, 2010). Through their activities, agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible; thereby creating structures through human practices (Giddens, 2010; Ritzer, 2008).

To emphasise the notion of system reproduction through rational and intentional activities, Giddens (1984:289-293) cites Willis (1977) in *Learning to Labor*, using the example of rebellious working-class school-boys situated in a poor British neighbourhood in the 1970s. In their bid to challenge the school authorities and schooling system as a whole, the boys intentionally engage in classroom oppositional activities, such as constant disruptive behaviour, aggressive sarcasm to teachers and creating a nonchalant counter-school joking

culture of "the lads". A brief analysis of "the lads" behaviour from the perspective of ST explains the boys as rational and knowledgeable agents. The boys' lived experiences in working-class communities and shop-floor, counter-authority culture in capitalist manual labour factories shaped the reasoning and motivation of their behaviour. Leaving school with no qualifications and employed in low-level manual labour, "the lads" reproduced a working-class culture that gave rise to, and regenerated through, their situated activities, creating unintended consequences that emanated from intentional actions (Giddens, 1984:293).

Giddens (1984) thus argues against a functionalist explanation that would render the unintended consequences of "the lads" behaviour as emanating from the "needs" of industrial capitalism for large numbers of people either to function as manual labourers or to be part of an industrial reserve army of the unemployed. In contrast, ST contends that rationality is crucial in understanding the relationship between social systems and individuals. This explains the intentionality of the actor's conduct carried out and reasoned in bounded knowledgeability resulting in unintended consequences (Giddens, 1984). On this account, Giddens (2009) asserts that all social action presumes the existence of structural systems, and concomitantly, that structural systems presume action, because structures depend on human behaviour. Furthermore, structural constraints, such as factors in the person's upbringing and other wider societal features, operate through agents' motives and reasons. For Giddens, "constraints do not push anyone to do anything if he or she has not already been pulled" (Giddens, 1984:308). In essence, decision-making processes and human beings cannot exist outside societal structures, and vice versa. Structures and agency are thus mutually constitutive (Giddens, 2009; Graaff, 2006).

Below I demonstrate how the CA complements ST.

2.3 Capability Approach

The CA complements ST as a broad normative and evaluative framework used to assess individual well-being, social arrangements and social policies (Sen, 1999; Comim, Qizilbash & Alkire, 2008; Robeyns, 2006). The approach emphasises the importance of expanding people's freedom (autonomy) by enhancing their functioning in order to live the lives that they value and to which they aspire (Sen, 1999). It points to the relevance of creating enabling structural environments where people can practice their agency more fully (Nussbaum, 2000). The capabilities of a person correspond to the freedom a person has to lead one kind of life or another. For Sen (1999), development and poverty alleviation are not merely providing for

subsistence living and income generation, rather they go further in addressing other human needs, such as literacy, maternal health, housing, mortality rate, standard of living and freedom from social ills, such as municipal poor service delivery in poor communities, chronic poverty and family violence (Sen, 2000; Nussbaum,2000).

The CA's position in relation to the debate on structure and agency is discernible in Sen's assertion that structures can enhance or diminish capabilities of human agents. Sen (1999) posits that, to improve their wellbeing, humans have the power to intervene in their life circumstances, but to do so, the institutional capacities of the environment in which they operate must enhance and enable structures. Sen therefore concurs with Giddens in perceiving human behaviour as influenced by rationality and generated through purposive action and not by structural determinism. Sen (1999:189), articulates that humans exert agency to transform their life circumstances and shape their own destinies. In this regard, social actors intervene in their lives as opposed to social and natural forces determining their lives. For Sen (1999), there is a need to expand human agency through different structural spheres, such as the substantive freedoms that emanate from the public health and educational sectors, and the instrumental freedoms embodied in social arrangements, economic opportunities, political freedom and security, and the transparency of institutional processes. Therefore, in CA terms, the notion of expanding people's freedom to increase capacity to shape their lives supports Giddens' concept of the duality of structure and agency whereby individuals draw on social systems to influence conditions of their lives. Most importantly, the CA is applicable to development initiatives that promote women's empowerment (Alkire, 2008; Sen, 1999; Robeyns, 2003; Kabeer, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993).

2.4 Grafting Sen onto Giddens

Since Giddens is the dominant theorist and Sen is complementary, ST informs the key concepts of the study, namely, structure, structural constraints, structural opportunities and agency. In this section, I use those key terms taken from Giddens to demonstrate (1) how Sen contributes to my understanding of these concepts; (2) how together Sen and Giddens inform the research questions and subsequent data analysis. I start by presenting the research questions that guided the study.

2.4.1 Key concepts

I drew the four key concepts: (a) structure (b) structural constraints (c) structural opportunities and (d) agency from the central research question and sub questions listed below.

Central research question: *How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township exercise agency in the ways in which they respond to the structural constraints and potential opportunities that affect their businesses?*

Sub questions:

1) What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?

2) How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter?

3) What do we learn about agency from the ways in which these African working class women respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?

I now discuss the key concept drawing on Giddens and Sen.

2.5 Structure

According to Giddens (2010:80) structure refers to the "structuring properties allowing the binding of time-space in social systems, the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them systematic form". Giddens also defines structures in post-structuralist terms as "the recursively organised sets of rules, habits and resources that are necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the social system". The term, "rules", denotes the constitution of meaning and the regulation of modes of social conduct (Giddens, 2010:81).

Contrary to other writers, Giddens conceptualises structures as properties of social systems and not systems themselves. These structuring properties are composed of "carried in reproduced practices" and bind systems in time and space. Social systems, for Giddens, are "organised hierarchically and laterally within societal totalities" in the form of institutions and are not structures *per se* (Giddens, 1984:170). Giddens' definition of structure gives primacy to the fact that the activities of human agents bring about structures, which are repetitive in character and routinised across time and geographical context. For Giddens, structures are both

constraining and enabling. This notion of structures contrasts with the Durkheiman concept of viewing structure as external and coercive of actors, as in the girder of a building (Ritzer, 2008).

When referring to structures, Sen (1999) emphasises broader societal and institutional systems such as economic, political, social, and educational and public health systems. Sen (1999) also articulates the role of normative values in society similar to Giddens' notion of rules and resources that regulate and sanction individuals in society. These values influence context-specific social conditions such as gender equality, the nature of childcare, family size, political and economic transparencies.

Giddens' conceptualisation of structures is much refined and narrowed down while Sen's conception of structures is much broader. Because Giddens is a theorist, his role in explaining in detail the mechanics of how structures are formed and impact on people is essential. Sen's much broader conceptualisation is necessary for Sen's role as a strategist and evaluator of development policies. Despite the subtle differences in their conceptualisation of structures, both Giddens and Sen agree that structures, though external, exert influence on human behaviour in constraining or enabling ways and that they can be shaped by people.

The CA, for example, postulates an agency and enabling environment nexus in which an enabling environment that provides economic opportunities, political liberties, social power, basic education and public health, amongst others, is necessary for people to exercise their agency freely in order to develop (Sen, 1999). Concomitantly, people who actively participate in public decision-making and social change (Sen, 1999) also strengthen these institutional arrangements. It is noteworthy that Sen's proposition of enhancing structures evokes a strategic sense, whereas Giddens' proposition that structures are always enabling and can be made more so, conjures an ontological sense. Sen thus adds value to ST in that the CA broadens the understanding of structures for the purpose of strategically expanding their enabling nature, whereas, if structures where understood only in the way Giddens (2010:81) terms "recursively organised sets of rules, habits and resources" , one would have missed the need to strengthen the institutional capacities as a focused strategy.

Grafting aspects of Sen's CA onto Giddens's theoretical framework thus informs my conceptualisation of the key terms by defining structures as the external social, economic and political regulatory systems and environments that influence human behaviour and aspirations.

Thus, in defining structure, Giddens moves away from everyday use. For a clearer understanding of the concept, I resorted to drawing my operational definition of structure from

Graaff (2006:9) who defines structures as, "the grooves of accustomed, habituated activity, into which people's lives fit. We can speak of family structures, racial structures, power structures, class structures, authority structures". I needed to reconcile this understanding of structures with Sen's conceptualisation of structures, another researcher may have resolved this challenge differently but I chose to resolve it in this way.

In the study, my operational definition of structure incorporates the following kinds of structures: family, racial, power, political, socio-cultural, politico-historical, class, authority and patriarchal (Giddens, 1984; Graaff, 2006). These structures guide human behaviour in the form of religious or moral beliefs, material interests and social identities. They also regulate rewards and punishment for conduct (Giddens, 1984:282; Graaff, 2006:9; King, 2010). Giddens' and Sen's theoretical frameworks work together, not only in the conceptualisation of my key terms, but also in informing my interview questions, as shown in Appendix C2 and elaborated in the methodology chapter.

There is an inter-connected relationship between my theoretical framework and my approach to data analysis. For example, interview questions below explore supportive structures in the participant's life.

(1) Going back to the time that you were growing up, were there events in your life that helped to prepare you in operating your current business? (For instance, the participant might have grown up in a family that encourages hard work or not being wasteful.)
(2) As women, we sometimes feel we need to be freer to make decisions about our lives. What challenges do you face in making decisions about your business or other aspects of your life in your family?

Looking at the first research question above, it is evident that Giddens's theoretical understanding of structures as properties of social systems, which enable or constrain social practices, informed it by exploring the influence of family structures on women traders. Sen's CA added value to the understanding of family structures not only as inherently enabling or constraining institutions, but also ones that have potential for being made more so from an evaluative and normative perspective. Giddens' ST informed the second question in the sense that it sought to explore how patriarchal structures influence a person's ability to make choices, and Sen's CA explicitly articulates gender inequalities in households, thus enhancing ST by focusing on specific contexts in which structures both constrain or enable. Because the CA addresses multiple needs and not only income and other material resources, it captures the nuanced deprivations inherent in peoples' diverse personal lives (Sen, 2000; Robeyns, 2005; Robeyns, 2006). I now turn attention to the concept of structural constraint.

2.6 Structural constraints

Structural constraints derive from the "contextuality of action" whereby situated actors are unable to change the "objective" existence of structural properties. The pre-existence of society to the lives of individuals locate them in contexts of social relations, which expose them to constraints that limit their capabilities (Giddens, 1984:177). Giddens (1984:173) adds that constraint "refers to the structuration of social systems as forms of asymmetrical power, in conjunction with a range of normative sanctions that may be deployed against those whose conduct is condemned, or disapproved of, by others". Giddens thus embedded his notion of constraint in power domination, which manifests in different forms of social interaction. In delineating constraints, Giddens categorises three senses of constraint, which are (a) structural constraints, (b) material constraint and (c) negative sanctions or power as sources of constraint. Structural constraints differ from Giddens' other categories of constraints, which social actors encounter in their daily lives, in the sense that "structural constraints" are those that place "limits upon the range of options open to an actor, or plurality of actors, in a given circumstance or type of circumstance" (Giddens, 1984:177; McGrath, 2002:306). Understanding the women trader participants' contexts, such as poverty, gender, familial background, race, ethnicity, communities and educational levels, is crucial in examining how these contexts impinge on the women traders' capabilities to transform their lives.

In Giddens' sense of constraint, when individuals experience material constraint, they will be dealing with limitations imposed by the physical capacities of the human body and features of the physical environment in a way that limits their capabilities and feasible options open to them. To elucidate the concept of material constraint, Giddens gives the example of the indivisibility of the body, finitude of the life span, and the sensory and communicative capabilities of the human body (Giddens, 1984:175). That is to say, a person's capability to function fully to achieve his or her goals depends largely on the person's holistic wellbeing and the conduciveness of the physical environment in which the person operates. In this regard, any limitation on the physical, mental, and psychological health of the individual, as well as adverse environmental conditions deters performance of actions.

The constraining aspects of power pertain to sanctions of various kinds, varying in intensity from the direct application of force or violence, the threat of such application, to the mild expression of disapproval (Giddens, 1984). The notion of power is fundamental to ST in as far as it is implicated in human action and structure in relation to the way power is used by actors

to control resources or influence the circumstances of others in society (Giddens, 1984). Giddens (1984) points out how the dialectic of control always plays out in power struggles and how agents in subordinate positions use resources available to them to transform their circumstances in context-specific ways. In elucidating the influence of power from the structural properties of social systems, Giddens uses the term, "surveillance". Surveillance refers to "a mechanism of codified administrative procedures that use domination and social control on subject populations, and which consequently inhibit social integration" (Giddens, 1984:183).

The constraining effects of power may manifest in subtler ways, for example, in expressions of mild disapproval or seducing power (Giddens, 1984). Power thus operates through the imposition of material constraints or negative sanctions by others derived from structural properties found in, for example, capitalism, which functions as a structural constraint (Giddens, 1984). Giddens (1984) also conceptualises constraints as any factor ranging from a person's upbringing to wider social institutions that limit a person's options in life. Sometimes people are dominated through forced consciousness because they are persuaded to accept that rules and norms are part of the natural order, when, in fact, they promote the interests of an individual or group to the detriment of others. This is what his concept "reification" refers to. He defines reification as "forms of discourse which treat properties of social systems as objectively given in the same way as natural phenomena" (Giddens, 1984:180). Discourses, which reify social behaviour, deny social actors the power to change their circumstances (Giddens, 1984:175). In the study, I explored how women traders responded to different forms of constraint, including power, and identified their emancipatory behaviours.

Alkire (2008) has applied the CA in her own work. She uses the concept of constraint to denote unequal power relations and patriarchal social hierarchies. Sen uses the term to refer to all forms of "unfreedom" or uses of power that deprive others of their capabilities (Sen, 1999). As a normative framework, the CA guides assessment of women's poverty reduction projects for transformative power in overcoming structural constraints of their lives such as women abuse (Robeyns, 2006).

The concept of power is intrinsic to my study. Giddens provides theoretical explanations of the causes of domination by those holding power through discourses of surveillance, capitalism, hegemony, reification and socialisation. Sen on the other hand offers a descriptive analysis of the manifestation of unequal power relations in broader societal institutions, nation states,

communities and households (Giddens 1984; Robeyns, 2006; Sen 1999; Sen, 2000). I agree with Robeyns (2006:372) that often in practice, the CA will require the supplementation of additional social theories. Because theories such as ST offer divergent views on the nature and incidence of power as stated above, the CA assesses people's capabilities in the micro contexts such as households.

With this understanding of structural constraints in mind, I now demonstrate how Giddens and Sen together inform my interview questions. The following two examples will suffice:

(1) When women work either outside the home or in formal work or trading, they bring income in the home that assists the family, yet for some women, earning money can cause problems in the family. Since you started your business, what challenges (if any) relating to your earning money through your business have you experienced?

(2) Can you think of any municipal laws that govern your trading in ways that make it hard for you to trade?

The above questions sought to elicit data about how the women traders experienced structural constraints from institutions such as family and municipal services. This relates to Giddens's notion of surveillance mentioned above. Sen's CA contributes to the conceptualization of constraint in the sense that it pays attention to the specific contexts by not assuming, for example, egalitarian principles in the households. Because of its record of use in women's self-help projects, the CA enables one to focus on different capabilities of women in poverty that need strengthening and structural constraints they normally encounter (Robeyns, 2006). In designing my research questions, I explored the concept of constraint in relation to any factor that limits the women traders' operation of businesses ranging from their upbringing, personal experiences and wider societal influences (Giddens, 1984:176; Sen, 1999).

Giddens and Sen's work are complementary in that Giddens' ST, though useful in shedding light into understanding the role of active agents in transforming and reproducing structures, on its own it does not capture the evaluative, normative, strategic and pragmatic aspects of development in a way that the CA does. Thus, the CA enables the researcher to assess the extent to which transformation occurs in the agents' lives (Robeyns, 2006). This evaluative component of the approach complements ST in that the latter concerns itself primarily with social reproduction and not necessarily human development policy making. Sen's advocacy for a pluralist approach to development by addressing a multitude of deprivations, such as social inequalities, social injustices, social insecurities and human security, are pertinent to the South African context where I conducted my study (Sen, 2000; Robeyns, 2006). Similarly, on its own, the CA, would be limited in illuminating the ontological aspects of social reality, thus

how the social injustices, social inequalities and unequal power relations came into existence. ST expounds on these aspects through discourses of surveillance and hegemony, for example.

2.7 Structural opportunities

Giddens does not provide a definition of opportunities; nonetheless, his references to the enabling nature of structures as rules and resources imply the notion of opportunities. Giddens (2010:86) uses the term "enablement" to denote structures that are simultaneously both constraining and enabling. This conception of structures as rules and resources has sometimes been referred to as a "cultural toolkit" (Giddens, 2010; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). This means the ability of social systems, political systems, economic institutions and legal institutions to provide resources in the form of rules and stocks of knowledge, thus providing opportunities for human actors to tap into in order to effect change in their lives.

By his direct reference to opportunities as "instrumental freedoms" or "capabilities" to refer to "real opportunities to achieve valuable states of freedom", also called rights, Sen adds value to ST. In the CA, Sen uses the term "opportunities" to denote a wide array of societal institutions that enable people to live lives that are free from all forms of deprivations. These institutions include, *inter alia*, political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1999). Writing on the application of the CA in development practice with women, Robeyns (2006) demonstrates how the approach delineates less salient capabilities or opportunities, such as physical health, mental well-being, social relations, education, shelter and environment, leisure activities and time autonomy. For example, when discussing education drawing on ST, Giddens narrowly portrays the benefits of education in terms of investment in human capital and means of earning income, whereas Sen conceptualises education as a tool to expand people's capabilities beyond the labour market to include empowerment in other dimensions of life (Robeyns, 2006). In my study, opportunities refer to different resources and forms of enablement that enhance participants' life chances in social, economic and political spheres. Furthermore, individuals may have low levels of education, but they may be empowered in other areas of life, such as having trading skills, that enable them to provide for their family. Sen's conceptualisation of opportunities thus strengthens my theoretical framework and guides the exploration of the subjective opportunities available to women traders. This emphasis on non-utilitarian aspects of wellbeing adds significant value to the study by refraining from a heavy emphasis on income as the sole opportunity emanating from capitalism, as articulated by Giddens (Giddens, 1984:177).

Limiting the understanding of opportunities to Giddens' implied reference to rules, resources, and cultural toolkit, which undoubtedly portray the enabling nature of society, however, would have missed the emphasis on societal obligation to provide those opportunities as articulated in the CA.

In South Africa, Sen's notions of "transparency guarantees", "economic facilities" and "protective security", for example, demonstrate the pertinence of an accountable government that protects its poorest citizens by providing the economic means of survival in response to poverty. The CA has thus framed the concept of opportunities in a way that is not only normative but also relevant to the time and place and also creates accountability to governments and society at large (Robeyns, 2006). In my study, I asked questions about structural opportunities available to women traders through socio-cultural institutions, such as religious organisations, family support systems, local government educational institutions and non-governmental organisations' support for skills development. For example,

(1) Are there any places or organisations that are available in your area to teach or provide information about running businesses?

(2) What opportunities have come your way because you belong to a traders' association?

These research questions explore Giddens's notion of opportunities provided by social systems. Sen complements Giddens by offering a strategic orientation that sought to identify institutional support that is pivotal for development.

2.8 The concept of Agency

According to Giddens (2010:73), agency "refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place". He adds, "An agent is one who exerts power or produces an effect" and "agency refers to doing". This conception of agency sees people as proactive, not as reactive automatons that are docile or subject-less. In emphasising the importance of action, Giddens states that an individual has to be a perpetrator of an event in such a way that whatever happened could not have happened if the individual had not intervened, whether intentionally or unintentionally (Giddens, 2010). In his stratification model of the agent, Giddens (1984:3-6) emphasises the "reflexive monitoring, rationalization and motivation of actions as embedded sets of processes". Sen (1999:19) defines agency as "the ability to pursue goals that one values and has reason to value". An agent is "someone who acts and brings about change". I drew on both Giddens and Sen's conceptualisations of agency.

2.8.1 Dimensions of agency

Central to the concept of agency is the ability to intervene in life circumstances and make a difference in the social world – irrespective of the magnitude (Giddens, 2010; Ritzer, 2008; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). Giddens (1984) highlights the main features of an agent using what he calls the stratification model of the agent as indicated in Figure 2.1 below.

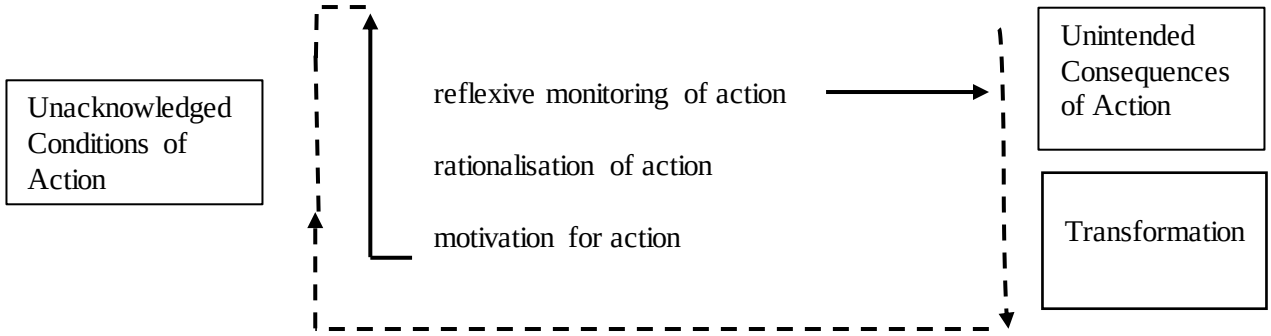


Figure 2.1. Stratification model of the agent. Adapted from Giddens (1984:5)

Figure 2.1 illustrates Giddens' conceptualisation of a human agent as a knowledgeable social actor whose motives drives them to act and engage in reflexive monitoring and rationalisation of actions. In the model, Giddens does not refer to transformation as a separate and distinct construct but engages it in the text as an inherent aspect of agency (Giddens, 1984:15). Similarly, Sen (1985b:206) defines an agent as "someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of [her/his] own values and objectives" (Sen, 1999:19). This definition relates agency to autonomy to choose and act, to change circumstances to improve wellbeing (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007; Kabeer, 1999). Hence, adding transformation as a distinct dimension of agency is important in my conceptual and analytical framework. I drew on the above stratification model to extract the dimensions of agency and designed an organising mechanism for analysing the data, which I represent in Figure 2.2 below.

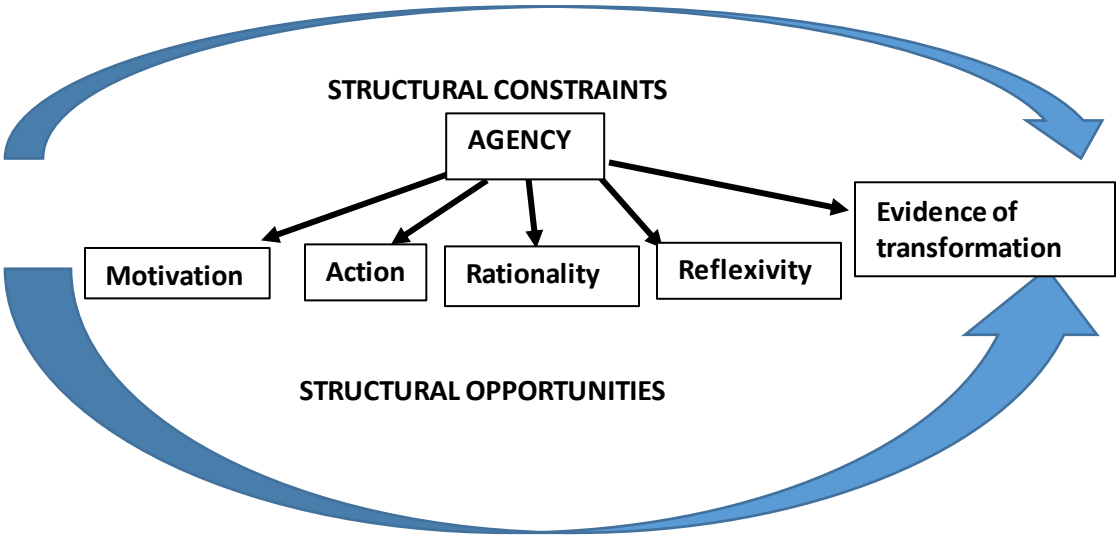


Figure 2.2 Analytical dimensions derived from Giddens's conceptualisation of agency

The dimensions of agency: Motivation, Action, Rationality, Reflexivity and Transformation, do not operate as stand-alone entities in practice, but rather as interconnected processes. For example, motives to achieve something drive individuals to act knowledgably by reflecting on their own resources and applying rationality to reason and to decide on courses of action leading to outcomes which have potential to transform circumstances. Below I elaborate on the definitions of the respective dimensions.

Motivation

When defining motivation, Giddens (1984:6) distinguishes reflexive monitoring and rationalisation from motivation of actions. In Giddens' terms, "motivation refers to potential for action rather than the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent". Additionally, Giddens asserts that, "if reasons refer to the grounds of action, motives refer to the wants which prompts it". Motives thus do not directly translate into action but rather create a platform for action to take place through plans or projects. In the data collection and analysis, I operationalise the definition of motivation as the internal personal drive that prompted the trader to act in certain ways: for example, the motives for operating the trading business in the first place or the motive to continue operating the business despite formidable constraints.

Reflexivity

According to Giddens (1984:3), reflexivity is not understood merely as "self-consciousness" but as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life". In addition, reflexivity "is grounded in the continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display" (Giddens, 1984:3). Reflexivity thus pertains to the process of paying attention to

one's social behaviour, other social beings' conduct, and the social environment as a form of conforming social actions to the social milieu and reinforcing actions. Reflexivity and rationality connect in engendering a purposive agent. While the process of reflection deals with extracting knowledge and reasons for acting from the social milieu, rationalisation involves the verbal articulations of reasons or grounds for actions. The operational definition for reflexivity in the data collection and analysis is the ability of the participant to appraise her actions in relation to her business, social, trading environment, other traders and time contexts, whether positively or negatively, through self-monitoring statements.

Rationality

In delineating rationalisation of action, Giddens (1984:5) alludes to the processes that actors routinely engage in to maintain a "continuing 'theoretical understanding' of the grounds of their activity". Thus, human agents are able to reason about their day-to-day conduct and actions. Reasons that actors give discursively for their behaviour sometimes diverge from the rationalisation of their actions as actually performed. Giddens assigns the terms "discursive consciousness" for reasons for behaviour offered verbally, and "practical consciousness" for what actors actually do. The significance of the terms, discursive consciousness and practical consciousness, in rationalisation is to demonstrate that reasons for behaviour, as offered by social actors, are subject to manipulation. Human behaviour does not always conform to normative commitments. Conscious and unconscious motives do influence behaviour (Giddens, 1984:7). I use the dimension of rationality in my study to mean the expressed reasoning given by a participant to explain behaviour. In the course of the study, I incorporated decision-making as an aspect of rationality rather than stand-alone construct because Giddens implies decision-making when emphasising the notion of "giving reasons" for action and acting knowledgably. I therefore concluded that making choices about a course of action or making decisions is the manifest and resultant part of how cognitive faculties engage in processing meanings for behaviours beyond mere expressed reasons for behaviour.

Sen (2002:4) defines rationality broadly "as the discipline of subjecting one's choices – of action as well as of objectives, values and priorities to reasoned scrutiny". In this regard, Sen emphasises "subjecting one's choices to the demands" of reason and rejects reductionist models of rationality in narrowly rigid terms by conceiving rationality in notions of utility maximisations (Sen, 2002:4). In conceptualising rationality, Sen (2002:5-6) emphasises the importance of freedom to choose from alternative reasons. Individuals thus exercise freedom of thought. They do not mechanically conform to rigid formulas formed outside their

independent and varied objectives shaped by their contexts and values. Sen challenges the view that individuals are purely motivated by self-interest as postulated in some economic theory (Sen, 2002:6). Individuals thus engage freedom of thought and individual preference in the context of social values, available opportunities and alternative courses of action.

Action

Action is central to the concept of agency as Giddens (2010:73) connects agency to doing. Similarly, Sen (1999:19) defines an agent as "someone who acts and brings about change". My operational definition of "action" is what women traders in the study do in their trading businesses, and personal and family lives with intention of achieving particular goals. Actions can also result in unintended consequences. Thus, action can either be purposive with an intended outcome or purposive with unintended outcomes. Actions can sometimes be counterproductive.

Transformative power

According to Giddens (1984:15), "action logically involves power in the sense of transformative capacity. Action depends on the capability of the individual to make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events" thus acting as an agent of change. The link between action and power is apparent in relation to the agent's perpetration of action to intervene in circumstances. Furthermore, this agent has authoritative resources (the transformative capacity and ability to generate command over persons or actors) and allocative resources (the transformative capacity to generate command over objects, goods or material phenomena) (Giddens, 2010). Giddens also emphasises the notion of power in his conceptualisation of an agent by asserting that an agent "ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to make a difference" or to exercise some sort of power (Giddens, 2010). Thus, to be an agent, one has to choose to either act and intervene in the world or refrain from such intervention, cumulating in changes in the social circumstances (Giddens, 2010; Ritzer, 2008; Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2010). I use the term, "transformation", to mean the capacity of business operation to effect change due to the perpetration of action by the trader, whether intentional or unintentional.

Women traders

While there are many definitions of informal traders or informal businesses creating contested meaning, there is, however, more consensus about what constitutes informal economic activity. Informal trading is characterised by being relatively low-scale, and eludes certain government

requirements, such as registration, tax, and health and safety regulations for workers (Cohen, 2010; SEDA, 2013; Statistics South Africa, 2014; Johnstone et al., 2004; Willemse, 2011). Willemse (2011:7) defines informal traders and informal businesses as "people who conduct street trading on a small scale, mostly from street pavements and who as a group offer a large variety of basic products and services to prospective clients". I now move on to explain how the theoretical framework enhanced the analytical process.

2.9 How Sen and Giddens' theoretical combination enhanced the analytical process

The combined aspect of the theoretical framework thus provides a better theory for asking the questions about what the women traders actually do, their motives and reasons for what they do in relation to their trading businesses. In relation to the concept of agency, the CA strengthens ST as a theoretical framework for the study of isiXhosa speaking women because of its use in gender inequality analysis and its emphasis on agent-orientated development. As articulated by Alkire, (2008), the CA emphasises the importance of individuals' achieved outcomes that derive from their capabilities and functionings and do not assume that there is egalitarian sharing of resources in households. It looks at people's doings (agency) and being in both market and non-market settings; it can, therefore, reveal the complexities and ambiguities in the distribution of wellbeing, for example, intra-household inequalities, individual wellbeing, gender-based inequalities (of resources), reproductive health and domestic violence. It acknowledges human diversity with respect to race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and geographical location (Alkire, 2008; Robeyns, 2003:65-66; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1999). In addition, the CA adds the dimension of cultural agency to individual agency that advocate for challenging norms and social injustices that influence women and men's choices and wellbeing outcomes (Robeyns, 2006).

Sen and Giddens' theoretical contributions converge conceptually in that they see individuals as active agents of change (Sen, 1999; Giddens, 1984). With the CA, Sen attempts to shift focus from welfarist approaches to agent-orientated approaches as the latter acknowledge women as active agents with transformative power and the former approach portrays women as passive recipients of welfare (Sen, 1999). In line with Giddens, Sen asserts that the active agency role brings about the responsibility of both men and women to act, refuse to act or choose to act in one way rather than the other. The CA grafted onto ST informs, for example, the following research field questions:

(1) In order to deal with competition of other traders selling the same product as you, how do you respond to the competition?

(2) What motivates you to continue the operation of your business?

(3) With regard to family responsibilities that get in the way of trading business, what do you do when that happens?

These questions seek to draw data on the aspects of agency that incorporate purposive action, making choices and motivation to transform circumstances, among other things, as articulated by Giddens' ST. Sen goes further in adding value to ST by paying specific attention to those circumstances that necessitate the need to exercise agency with respect to gender inequalities in society and in households, as stated above. By focusing on capabilities, Sen expands the range of choices that agents can pursue (Robeyns, 2006). Clearly, grafting Sen's CA into Giddens' ST adds value in that Sen understands poverty as multidimensional deprivations and foregrounds context-specific circumstances, such as the nature of governance practiced by states, and gender inequalities (Robeyns, 2006). By showing Sen and Giddens' complementarity roles, I have also shown the merits of developing a sound theoretical framework that guides research questions, and prepares data analysis and ultimate execution of robust scientific research. In the methods chapter, I elaborate on how the theoretically driven concepts guided data collection and data analysis.

Chapter 3| Methodology

This chapter focuses on the methods for collecting and analysing data and the verification strategies that were employed to enhance the quality of the research. I begin by discussing the rationale for selecting a case study methodology; it is followed by a description of the preparatory work done before data collection commenced, the pilot study, participant observation and in-depth interviews. I had chosen these as my data collection methods to gain deeper insight into how participants exercised agency in the context of structural constraints and opportunities. In the data analysis section, I report on the processes and procedures that I employed to analyse the data systematically and how I used an organising mechanism[2] to navigate the masses of data and and to identify patterns therein, which, in turn, led to sensible interpretations and logical conclusions. Next, I refer to the criteria and verification strategies that I used to enhance the quality of the inquiry, which are discussed in detail in the appendix. Lastly, I discuss research ethics.

3.1 Case study methodology and research design

According to Yin (2009:18), "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear". A case study methodology suited my research interest in how isiXhosa-speaking women traders exercised agency in their natural setting in a South African township. My study of this complex social phenomenon needed a methodology that is holistic, in-depth and designed to uncover meaningful insights into real-life social practices. My study exhibited the characteristics that Yin (2009:2) says are suitable for using a case study methodology. These include: (i) the investigator asks how and why questions and has (ii) little control over events, and (iii) the focus of the study is a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context. As my central research question was a "how" type of question, which needed detailed information, a qualitative case study design and methods were more appropriate than quantitative methods, such as surveys using

[2] The organising mechanism refers to the conceptual framework that I used to define and operationalise the key concept of agency into five dimensions, namely, reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action, and transformation, was discussed in chapter 2. The framework formed the basis for analysing data. This is in line with Yin's approach (2009:33-34) of developing analytic techniques by linking data to propositions and criteria for interpreting the findings, thus enabling, "pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis". Conceptual frameworks map, focus and bind data to be collected and analysed (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014:20).

questionnaires, which do not allow for the "mining" of rich detailed information (Punch 2005:145; Yin 2009:9-10). I also wanted an approach that was sensitive to the participants' social world, experiences and their meaning construction. With this in mind, I drew on interpretivism (Bhana & Kanjee, 2001; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Babbie & Mouton, 2007). I developed a theoretical framework in line with a case study approach which requires that a theoretical proposition is drawn up before data collection and the analytical process is undertaken (Yin, 2009:35). I opted for a multiple-case holistic design as my study contained more than one case (n=25) (Yin 2009:44). My unit of analysis was individual isiXhosa women traders in Langa. All the women traders had a similar background in terms of class, language and culture and they operated in the same geographical area. These shared demographic characteristics allowed me to pay more attention to the similarities and differences in ways in which they exercised agency in response to structural constraints and opportunities that they, as individuals encountered in their daily lives.

While the women entrepreneurs in my study were not organised as a group, they were representative of the experiences of most women traders in township settings in Cape Town. Their multiple cases allowed me to compare similarities and differences in the ways that they exercised agency. The logic for multiple cases is that they make the overall study more robust by producing identifiable patterns of behaviour (Yin, 2009:46). Selected cases for example produce similar or contrasting patterns predictably in relation to the theoretical proposition (organising mechanism) stated above (Yin, 2009:45). For example, by investigating the extent to which each additional case replicates the first case, I discovered three clusters in the data that gave rise to three profiles based on systematic criteria and comparisons. Yin (2009:27) stipulates the five components of a research design: (1) the study's questions, (2) theoretical propositions, (3) the unit of analysis, (4) the logical linking of the data to theoretical propositions and (5) criteria for interpreting the findings.

3.2 Preparing and planning the research design

3.2.1 Sources of data

Following Yin (2009), I collected data from multiple sources because together they would provide a more synergistic and comprehensive view of the research subject, for example, in-depth interviews would corroborate my participant observations. I reviewed literature that discussed my chosen theoretical framework as well as studies on informal trading. I also consulted national government policy documents on small business development, as well as

the municipal regulations which applied to small businesses. I also scrutinised Langa community newspapers. By reviewing studies that were in line with my research interests, I was able to find rigorous secondary data that shaped my views and identified gaps in the literature on my topic. I consulted literature on methodological approaches and investigation techniques (Yin, 2009). To learn about trading in Langa, I attended six local traders' association meetings and interviewed a municipal official and leaders of traders' associations. The meetings shed light on community politics, structural constraints and limited opportunities that traders encountered. Because my study was qualitative in nature, my primary sources of data were interviews with women traders as well as leaders of traders' associations.

3.2.2 Qualitative sampling method

I opted for purposive sample that entailed choosing a sample "based on your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims" (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:166). A non-probability purposive sample of 25 isiXhosa-speaking women traders participated in the study. All participant ran small businesses near an area demarcated as Zone 16 in Langa in Cape Town (Appendix H1), the exception was a trader in the pilot study who ran her business in Khayelitsha Township. There were two categories of women traders in Langa: those who belonged to a traders' associations(n=12) and those who did not (n=13) . The associations were the Langa Traders Association and the Langa Business Forum. I compared differences between the sub-groupings with respect to agency because I reasoned that membership in a traders' association represented a form of agency, collective agency, and might influence findings, for example, traders' associations gave traders greater bargaining power in dealing with the Municipality of Cape Town, and as well as access to business services.

A leader of the local Langa Traders Association informed me that there were 30 traders licenced to trade at the taxi rank, elsewhere in Langa up to 20 traders tend to cluster together, 25 participants was, therefore, a reasonable sample size for my fieldwork. My sample was a substantial enough qualitative sample; it could provide rich in-depth information which would allow for clustering and patterns in the data. Eventually, this could lead to profiles emerging inductively. I stopped adding new participants at 25 when I noticed from additional participants that there was increasing repetition in their narratives; it was unlikely that additional participants would contribute substantially new insights. I had reached theoretical and sampling saturation, that is, new data or research insights are no longer likely to be illuminating or

generate new ideas (Bazeley, 2013). In Table 3.1 below, I list the 25 participants and, in addition, other informants whom I interviewed in order to gain background information that could conform or clarify information obtained from the key participants.

Table 3.1 List of participants and informants

Description	Fieldwork Sources	Total
Women traders	Particapants	25
Traders' Association leaders	Informants	4
Municipal worker	Informants	1
Informal discussants (Community members of Langa)	Informants	3
Traders' Association meetings attended	N/A	6

(Source: Field Journal , Mpofu-Mketwa, 2014)

3.2.3 Data collection procedures

Yin (2009) emphasises honing in on suitable investigation skills and interviewing techniques, which can be adapted to the changing situations of the participants, and are sensitive enough to pick up contradictory evidence. I drew on these suggestions and designed an interview schedule which systematically linked my interview questions to the theoretically informed themes that I was investigating. I developed an interview schedule (Appendix C2) from a table of questions that I had used to capture the key dimensions of my research (see Appendix B). After numerous revisions and meetings with my supervisor, I finally produced bilingual interview schedules (Appendices C2 for the English version and C7 for the isiXhosa version). An isiXhosa-speaking student helped translate all research instruments from English into isiXhosa. (I am proficient in isiXhosa, but it is not my first language.) In order to record key biographical and demographic details (Appendices C1 and C6), a biographical questionnaire or information sheet was added to the interview schedule. A separate interview schedule was prepared for the traders' association leaders and the municipal official (see Appendices C3, C4 and C5 for the English and the isiXhosa versions of these interview schedules). The systematic development of interview questions ensured a focused, theory-driven and holistic exploration of the phenomenon under inquiry, which is in line with recommendations by Miles and Huberman (1994).

3.2.4 Negotiating entry into the community and research site

Before collecting data, I first embarked on "reconnaissance" in order to familiarise myself with the community of Langa. My undergraduate community development course and prior knowledge of the Langa community prepared me well for negotiating entry into the

community. Drawing inspiration from Henderson and Thomas (1987) and Homan, (2004) on community based research, I scanned the neighbourhood and the general zoning landscape, residential and commercial settlement patterns, formal and informal trading places, and landmark features, such as the taxi rank and gathering places. I talked to people as I explored how to gain access to the informal women traders. I identified community leaders by asking community members in the neighbourhood about traders association leaders. My initial point of entry was through the members and leaders of traders' associations. I had a letter from my university department written in both English and isiXhosa together with a concise information card which explained my research. This letter helped to introduce me and authenticated my study. I selected four participants for the pilot study before I selected the participants for the main study.

3.2.5 Pilot study

The pilot study's primary aim was to test the data collection instruments over a period of several months. Piloting my study offered a number of benefits, which included, *inter alia*, refining the research instruments, uncovering unanticipated research problems highlighting any gaps and/or practical difficulties in collecting data (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001; Sampson, 2004; Bazeley, 2013). The pilot study enhanced my visibility in the community, helped to build greater rapport with other informants and earned me referrals to people whom I would include in the main study. Because I conducted my fieldwork in isiXhosa, it was crucial to test the research instrument to ensure that participants understood the language, terminology and phrasing of research questions. I first interviewed the secretary of Ukuphuma kweLanga Traders' Association, who was an informal trader herself, and she referred me to two other potential participants. The fourth potential participant was an ex-trader from the Khayelitsha Township: I selected her from my social network because she met most of the sample characteristics. Of the four participants selected for the pilot study, two engaged in catering, one in open market chicken butchery, and the other sold clothes.

After I had selected the pilot study participants and obtained their consent to participate and have the interviews recorded, I began by conducting participant observation with two pilot study participants. I then followed up with in-depth interviews during which I used the test interview schedule. (I have included data from pilot studies in the key findings.) Participant observations of pilot study participants enlightened me about other aspects of the research questions that I had missed when designing the interview schedule. The pilot study interview

session was structured so that I first administered a brief biographical questionnaire (see Appendix C1), followed by the main interview. Interviews flowed from an introduction, which included the rationale for the interview, and then moved onto interview questions. Generally speaking, the participants' answers indicated that they understood the questions, however, the piloting process identified a few questions which needed further exploration, because the interviewees did not offer adequate answers. After I went through the transcribed pilot interviews, I refined and shortened the interview schedule from 90 to 60 minutes by discarding or revising questions which were unnecessary, too complex or ambiguous (See Appendix D for a pilot study summary report.)

Explaining the key concepts "structural constraints", "structural opportunities" and 'agency" to participants was complicated because of their academic origin and they do not translate easily into isiXhosa. I simplified the terms by making use of common real-life examples that were readily understandable. For example, I did not use the term "agency" directly, but rather explored its dimensions – reflexivity, rationality, purposive action, motivation and evidence of transformation – as informed by my theoretical framework. I asked questions that explored participants' motivations, actions and decisions in relation to their businesses. I enquired about their knowledge of available opportunities and relevant environmental factors. When I analysed the participants' narratives, I identified manifestations of these dimensions of agency. With regard to structural constraints and opportunities, the findings from the pilot study were similar to those found later in the main study. The theme of agency was less obvious in the pilot study, as data derived from the four participants were too limited. I incorporated my findings from the pilot study into later results as suggested by Sampson (2004) and Bazeley (2013). I presented the report at one of my supervisor's PhD students' quarterly workshops and at a UCT PhD writing circle, I again revised it and amended the interview questions based on the feedback. Thereafter, the interview schedule produced data that began to answer the central research question and allowed for analysis using my theoretical framework.

3.3 Data collection methods

3.3.1 Participant observation

After completing my pilot study with four participants, I proceeded with my fieldwork over a period of about nine months by conducting participant observations and in-depth-interviews with 21 other participants. Participant observation is an ethnographic method of data collection, which is concerned with the respondents' subjective meanings of actions and events,

expressed either verbally or non-verbally (Punch, 2005). As prescribed by Knoblauch (2005), in my fieldwork I adopted a focused ethnographic approach for both the participant observation and the in-depth interviews. In this method, the researcher immerses herself in the case under inquiry in order to understand the participants' social world more fully (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Following the referrals from pilot study participants, I approached other prospective participants at their trading sites, I was equipped with the information cards about my research, consent forms, a biographical questionnaire (See Appendix C1 and C6) and field journal notebook. To gain rapport, I approached the participants by greeting in isiXhosa following the protocols of *ukubulisa* (greeting). This is normally done by saying, *"Molo sis"* or *"Molo mama"* ("Hello sister" or "Hello mother", depending on the woman's age), *"Unjani sis? Or unjani mama?"* ("How are you, sister?" or "How are you, mother?"). Once acquainted, I addressed them by their clan names, *iziduko*, such as *MaDlamini, MaBhayi and MaMdxina*, this is a respectful form of address which also acknowledges affiliation, a practice which in urban settings enhances social networks based on kinship identification (Ramphele, 1989; Hart, 2000). Although I spoke isiXhosa, I found it important that I avoided any pretence that I was an isiXhosa first language speaker if I were to gain the participants' trust. Therefore, I explained to curious participants that I am Shona with a different type of clan name. I had to practice sensitivity in the way I dressed and requested permission to record or take photographs in order not to give offence or, as a researcher, be seen as imposing myself , all of which could have influenced the research process negatively (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). In the context of xenophobia in South Africa, despite my Zimbabwean origin, I found my women participants very accommodating and friendly.

I spent two five-hour participant observation sessions with each participant, as they prepared food, cleaned dishes and conducted business at their trading stall; some sold products and others shampooed people's hair, these were some of the trading activities undertaken by women traders. On one occasion, I accompanied Linomtha[3] to the vegetable market when she went to buy stock for her fruit and vegetable business. This trip highlighted some of the trading-related constraints that women traders have to face, for example transport costs, and the constraints deriving from the power of male suppliers. I observed how Linomtha exercised agency by using her social networks with packers and suppliers to secure stock that would run out quickly because it was in high demand. The gender and cultural dynamics at the vegetable market was a manifestation of the highly patriarchal nature of the way in which the relations

[3] Pseudonym.

between wholesalers and retailers are controlled, this also affects the women's decisions about what stock to purchase. I entered these and other observations in my fieldwork notebook and later typed the participant observation notes into my fieldwork journal following Babbie and Mouton (2007) who recommend rigorous and accurate note-taking in participant observation. As the fieldwork progressed, I continued recording my observations of other participants' demonstrations of agency, their interactions with other traders and customers, my insights into community relations and the constraints and opportunities experienced by women informal traders. At the end of the second day of participant observation with each participant, I completed a contact summary sheet (Appendix G).

The contact summary sheet is a one-page document which summarises a particular field contact or records questions for further investigation (Miles et al., 2014:124). The information on the contact summary sheet was informed by the key theoretical concepts of the study and helped me pick up salient themes in each participant observation. In the earliest stage of analysis, I entered the key themes onto the contact summary sheet and added cross-references to my participant observation notes. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014:70) recommend early data analysis during the fieldwork process. Their advice was beneficial in that it helped me to continue focusing on the central research question and alerted me to areas that would need to be explored further in in-depth interviews. In order to conduct a more rigorous analysis, I imported the text files of the participant observation notes and the contact summary sheets for all the participants into NVivo software program. Pelto and Pelto (1978) argue that when participant observations corroborate statements in the in-depth interviews this enhances reliability.

3.3.2 In-depth interviews

I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews in isiXhosa with each of the participants (Appendix C7). The interview sessions comprised one 60 minute session or two 30 minute sessions, depending on participant's schedule. Where it was possible, I conducted the interviews in a private room at the participants' houses on their off-duty days or at the trading sites when business was slow. When I conducted interviews at trading sites, I did not ask any questions when others were present, thereby ensuring the interviews were private. The audio recorder was effective in reducing background noise during transcriptions. Conducting interviews at the participants' homes had an added advantage in that it provided insight into

their home-settings and their families' interpersonal dynamics. I aimed to get an "insider perspective" about the women traders themselves.

In-depth interviews provided the participants with the opportunity to elaborate on their experiences and subjective meanings in more detail than would have been possible with a structured questionnaire survey (Babbie & Mouton, 2007; De Vos et al., 2007). The interviews focused on the women traders' experiences of constraints and opportunities and their responses to these. Informed by my social work training (see, Shulman, 2012), I structured interview sessions into four main phases, namely, the initiation phase of building rapport with the participant, the contract phase of signing consent forms and briefing about the interview. The work phase which focused on the main purpose of the interview by drawing the participant's responses; finally, there is the termination phase, when I ended the interview. Some participants also allowed me to have follow-up sessions with them when necessary.

In the work phase of the interview, I began each interview by focusing on the participants' lives since leaving school.The biography that they provided helped me understand their key pathways and turning points in their lives as they responded to personal constraints and opportunities. Biographies served as windows into the participants' values, beliefs, perceptions and interpretations of their social life (Pelto & Pelto, 1978). I further explored questions set out in demarcated sections of the interview schedule. These were the participants' recent trading history; constraints and opportunities pertaining to trading, social factors, finances, regulatory and supportive systems; and how they exercised agency in response to these opportunities and constraints (See Appendix C2). During the interviews, I phrased questions in colloquial language in order to improve comprehension and to allow participants to ask questions when they needed greater clarity. I transcribed the interviews by listening to the recorded isiXhosa interviews and translating them into English as I typed. With the help of a fellow student, I reviewed the verbatim transcriptions in order to verify consistency in the meanings conveyed.This activity helped to identify a few variations and ambiguous terms, but it did not show any deviation from the main ideas conveyed by participants. After the student and I reached consensus about the transcriptions and clarified some terms, I imported the transcriptions into NVivo ready for data analysis.

3.4 Data reduction and analysis

I adopted Miles and Huberman's approach to qualitative data analysis. I used their methods of data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions and verification (Punch, 2005:197; Miles et

al., 2014:14). Their approach emphasises drafting contact summary sheets, coding, pattern coding, memoing, case analysis, interim case summaries, writing vignettes, and pre-structured cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994:51). My data analysis followed three phases.

- Phase 1: Developing *priori* codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994:51).
- Phase 2: First level coding and pattern coding.
- Phase 3: Using my organising mechanism to develop criteria for building -profiles of participants which were drawn inductively from the way they exercised agency (Appendix H3: synopsis of key phases).

I now discuss the phases in greater detail.

3.4.1 Phase 1 – Early data analysis

To comply with Miles and Huberman's (1994:50) recommendations of interweaving data collection and analysis, I developed *a priori* codes from my theoretical framework which I wove into the interview schedule. *A priori* codes are a starting list of codes generated from the literature review and theoretical framework, they cover a range of phenomena that you might expect to meet in the data (Bazeley, 2013:170). I explored the key factors that shaped the contexts of women traders in relation to the four key concepts (a) structure (b) structural constraints (c) structural opportunities and (d) agency and my exploration was also informed by previous studies on informal traders and the literature on women's self-help development projects that had used the CA. This would ensure the simultaneous linkage of coding, development of key research questions, and capturing of fresh ideas. The list helped focus my research on key concepts and context-specific data about trading, it also allowed me to organise the data in the transcripts into broad categories later in the analysis. In Appendix B, I demonstrate how I used *a priori* codes to formulate research questions which I then included in the interview schedule. The exercise helped me capture all the possible aspects and key dimensions relevant to the study.

Once I started data collection, while ideas where still fresh in my mind, I used contact summary sheets in conjunction with participant observation notes. Contact summary sheets summarise main points of contact with a participant and they provide the first-run at data reduction in the process of analysis. These sheets are beneficial in accommodating a review of field notes, together with reflections on the main concepts, themes and issues and research questions immediately after contact with participants (Miles and Huberman,1994:51). Appendix G

provides an example of a contact summary sheet that I used to record my analysis of participant observation notes on the themes of agency, structural constraints and opportunities in a participant's life, and other important findings. I imported both the contact summary sheets and the participant observation notes into NVivo software for the purpose of data analysis.

The advantages of initial data analysis during fieldwork were that the practice allowed me to collect new data when gaps emerged during this initial stage of analysis, I was able to identify patterns of participants' responsive behaviours to their constraints and opportunities, established data analysis as an on-going process, and allowed me to produce interim summaries throughout the analytical process (Miles et al., 2014:132). I also wrote vignettes, which described key events and incidents that occurred during fieldwork that were relevant to the main themes and research questions. Vignettes provided supporting evidence when I wrote up the findings. I captured new insights in the form of memos – a practice that I continued throughout the analytical process. Miles and Huberman (1994:72) define memoing as pulling together data from several cases and then reformulating them around certain codes, themes or some other aspect of the study (e.g. clustering incidences that appear to have commonalities). Memoing helps to move the analysis from empirical data to the conceptual level, it allows for the refining and expanding of codes to developing key categories of themes from the data and showing their relationships and developing an understanding of cases and theoretical comparisons (Bazeley, 2013:131). Below is an example of a brief memo that I wrote after gaining new insights from some transcriptions:

Child Protection: Family decisions that put children at risk.

When parents made decisions to let their children live with extended families, the practice sometimes placed children at risk. When Lebo and Amanda's parents placed them in the care of extended families after recently moving to Cape Town from Eastern Cape during their high school years they experienced abuse, exploitation, vulnerability and teen pregnancy in Lebo's case. Thus, extended families can be sources of negative power and not as supportive as portrayed in literature on collective cultures like isiXhosa. Giddens's notion of structures as both constraining and enabling is evident in this case of families that were both supportive and abusive. [Data Analysis Journal, Mpofu-Mketwa, 2014]

The above memo helped me to deepen my understanding of structural constraints pertinent to my participants in the light of my theoretical perspectives on structures. I used memos to develop key categories and how they related so that I came to a greater understanding of the various cases in the relation to the research questions' epistemological frames, theoretical perspectives and pre-existing knowledge interpretation and understanding in coding (Miles &

Huberman, 1994:74). I imported the text files into NVivo software and linked them to relevant codes by using the NVivo functions of linking memos. These analytical memos formed the basis for deeper analysis later on.

3.4.2 Middle phase of data analysis

Coding the data and writing case summaries constituted the middle phase of my data analysis. Coding involves assigning unique labels to text passages that contain references to particular categories of information, contributing to data fragmentation and reduction (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005:30; Miles & Huberman, 1994:56). Codes are partly analytical because they link various segments of text to a particular concept (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005:30). To ensure consistency in the application of coding categories, the codes, their definitions and descriptions are recorded in a codebook. The descriptions of each code are detailed, in them I recorded where and how I have used each code. There are different levels of coding. Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to first and second level coding.

First level coding entails assigning names and classifying data that results in a working set of codes, which are mainly descriptive with minimal interpretation (Miles & Huberman, 1994:69; De Wet & Erasmus, 2005:31). I read with great care the transcripts imported into NVivo in order to get a sense of the participants' narratives and to identify themes derived directly from my central research question (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). I named and assigned coding categories (or codes) connecting the main ideas generated from the text of transcribed interviews and recorded them in a codebook (Appendix F). Under the theme of structural opportunities, for example, I derived broad and fine codes which were based mainly on Sen's conceptualisation of opportunities (See Appendix F). Broad categories, which relate to the central research question (Miles et al., 2014:74), were assigned to chunks of data, a process which facilitates retrieval and clustering segments. The broad code, *Structural Opportunity–business skills training*, was assigned to a passage about a participant's attendance at a short community-based skills training course. This code was too broad and lost some nuances in the text, it was important to specify the type of structural opportunity by assigning a fine code that specified educational attainment, previous work history, family circumstances, and market mechanisms of supply-and-demand alongside the broad code. Where applicable, I followed Bazeley (2013:139) in assigning multiple codes to the passage to capture as many nuanced ideas as possible. I used similar coding decisions when coding the concept of "structural constraints", I identified constraints that were specific to the traders. Here I drew on Giddens'

categorisation of constraints – material constraint, structural constraint and constraints associated with power. Such constraints emanated from gender, class, culture, family and other constraints from the trading contexts. For example, I named the codes: *Structural Constraints – financial constraint, Structural Constraints – family circumstances, Material Constraints – ill health, Constraints Associated with Power – trading site*. As I progressed with the coding, I needed to refine codes in order to generate clearer categories, and I also merged codes in order to create broader categories.

Similarly, with the concept of agency, I drew on the theoretical framework for the dimension of agency, whether it was motivation, reflexivity, purposive action, or rationality, and thus generated these codes, *Agency – Motivation, Agency – Rationality, Agency-Purposive Action,* and *Agency – Reflexivity and Agency-Evidence of transformation*. I organised these codes into a hierarchical system of categories and subcategories as indicated in the codebook. In assigning these codes, I paid attention to further evidence of agency, as I saw them emerging in the participants' narratives. The hierarchical organisation of data (i.e. coding categories, sub-categories and sub-sub categories) helped to clarify concepts and identify patterns that emerged from the data. Miles et al. (2014:48) recommend employing Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) for storing, maintaining and coding data. The NVivo software for example, assisted with organising the codes using coding tools to record definitions of codes in the properties dialog box for future reference and creating hierarchies using categories and sub-categories. In NVivo, I worked systematically, creating codes from transcriptions, participant observation notes and contact summary sheets, and I then linked memos to relevant codes. The notes derived from my participant observations supplemented gaps from the interviews in my transcriptions. The analytical tools in NVivo facilitated this organisation. I developed the codebook iteratively, I kept revising, elaborating, adding and updating the codebook and NVivo codes list throughout the coding process until I was satisfied that code definitions matched the ideas coded. I took care not to delete codes prematurely, consequently, I "parked" ambiguous and peripheral codes in NVivo until I was satisfied that I had coded all the relevant transcripts.

The coding process was guided by theoretical concepts, yet I was also on the alert to identify negative evidence, I paid attention to alternative but significant findings that challenged common themes. I created an additional code labelled, "negative evidence", in order to analyse those aspects of data that deviated from common and normative narratives. For example, when one out of the 25 participants expressed indifference to showing mutual respect to other traders

at her site, I sought to understand the participant's subjective interpretation of her social milieu because, it was crucial to understand data in context by paying attention to nuances as is pertinent to qualitative data analysis (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005:30).

In the middle phase of the data analysis it was crucial to identify patterns of how participants exercised agency by looking out for relationships in the data by comparing individual cases and noting different clusters of participants and gradations. Thus I deepened analysis by going beyond mere descriptions of themes. I paid attention to those patterns of repeatable regularities and noting why patterns occur the way they do. Pattern coding, or second level coding, is a way of grouping summaries of data described at the first level of coding "into a smaller number of sets, themes, or constructs". It goes beyond descriptive coding by identifying recurring systems of ordering evidence from data. Miles and Huberman (1994:69) suggested four reasons for pattern coding, namely, for (1) data reduction purposes, (2) keeping analysis focused in relation to the central research question, (3) developing and integrating an analytic schema for understanding local phenomena, and (4) enabling cross-case analysis and clustering. Pattern coding thus provides a means of purposefully managing, locating, identifying, sifting, sorting and querying data. It is a means of identifying evidence and for testing assumptions and conclusions (Bazeley, 2013:125).

To identify patterns clearly, I also created case summaries from the coded interviews in NVivo in order to deepen and broaden analysis. This helped to generate profiles, a process that could not rely on coding alone (Bazeley, 2013:189). I created case summaries which enabled me to identify cases that shared common contexts and similar responsive behaviours to opportunities and constraints. I used narrative techniques to analyse participants' short biographies. I used charts and tables that compared how individual participants life histories were similar or different. I explored trajectories of their life histories and identified patterns and clusters in the charts that compared how individual participants exercised different dimensions of agency. Through this process, I began a descriptive account of the preliminary findings. The relationships between cases and codes had begun to emerge and coalesce to form a bigger picture. After I had analysed the first half of the transcriptions and it became evident how agency played out in the data. I finished the process of coding and re-coding when there were clear, readily classified data segments and saturated categories when no new insights emerged and it was no longer necessary to continue the coding process. I was moving towards the final phase of interpretive analysis.

3.4.3 Final phase of data analysis using the organising mechanism

When applying social theory to the analysis of data , it is crucial to operationalise theory into constructs that are tools which help a researcher to understand research findings and social phenomena. In this section, I describe my organising mechanism, namely, its components, the relationships between the components, the theoretical framework and the overall thesis. The rationale for articulating the organising mechanism on which data analysis is based is to show adherence to the hallmarks of rigour in qualitative research. It is good scientific practice to make analytical techniques and decisions transparent as a means of ensuring methodological reliability (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). My organising mechanism was the logical model of clearly defined dimensions of agency that I used to make sense of the data, and measure and analyse the concept of agency). I developed this organising mechanism as a means of deepening analysis, beginning to write up of the findings and ultimately thesis development. I broke down the broad concept of agency into several manageable dimensions (reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action, and transformation) that are found in Giddens' stratification model of an agent (Giddens, 1984:5). I wrote down how my organising mechanism helped me make sense of the data, generate preliminary findings and data displays and then presented it to PhD workshop and writing circle (Appendix H4).

The organising mechanism made further analysis of the data easier as I was now operating with bounded concepts, categories and themes as Bazeley (2013:8) advises. The first column in Table 3.2 below identifies Giddens' definitions of the dimensions of agency, the middle column contains my operational definitions of these dimensions and the last column summarises what I found in the data. When analysing how the women traders exercised agency, I paid close attention to the ways that they: (1) reflected on their environment, on others in their social and trading contexts and on themselves in relation to their businesses; (2) were motivated to initiate and continue their trading businesses; (3) demonstrated rationality in the thinking and decision -making that informed business practices; (4) acted with the purpose that influenced enablement and business sustainability; and (5) showed evidence of transformation through their actions and other dimensions of agency. The dimensions were the scaffolding for organising the analysis and, the subsequent findings. My organising mechanism helped me develop criteria for grading participants' exercise the various dimensions of agency, which, in turn, facilitated the generation of distinctive patterns and clusters and, eventually, a spectrum of profiles of the enablement of agency. The profiles of participants, namely, "most enabled", "moderately enabled" and "least enabled", which were generated from the data were mentioned

in the introductory chapter. They were derived from the ways that the participants exercised the five dimensions of agency. I further analysed the individual participants to ascertain their degree of enablement, along both single dimensions of agency and all the dimensions of agency in total to get a sense of how they exercised agency overall. I ranked participants on degrees of enablement to identify those that gravitated towards similar tendencies. Further elucidation of the profiles of participants is provided in Chapter 11, by way of answering the central research question.

Table 3.2. Definitional considerations informing the understanding of key dimensions of the organising mechanism

Dimension of Agency	*Giddens' (1984:5-6) Definition of the Dimension*	*Operational Definition of the Dimension*	*What I found in the data*
1. Reflexivity	The process that actors engage in when they "monitor continuously the flow of their activities and expect others to do the same for their own". Social actors also monitor the environments that shape the ongoing flow of their social life.	Appraisals that participants perform in relation to themselves, others and the broader environments affecting their businesses Reflecting on self in relation to others and environment often influences an individual's course of action.	Participants' reflections on and appraisals of their own experiences, their knowledge of and abilities in relation to business practices, major opportunities and constraints. Narratives about awareness of trading and the broader environment which influences trading and relationships with others.
2. Motivation	Motivation of action relates to wants that prompt action. Motives set the agenda against which action takes place; they provide overall plans or projects which lead a participant to carry out a range of actions.	Motivation is the internal drive that prompted the participant to take action and make certain decisions; in this case, running a trading business. Motives are what a person wanted to achieve before performing certain actions; they connect particular actions and decisions to a participant's overarching aim or goal.	The participants set goals, which range from satisfying daily subsistence needs to expanding the business, others made concrete plans and others idealised goals.Goal orientation influenced the degree of achieving transformation from business operations.
3. Rationality	Rationalisation of action means processes that actors routinely engage in maintaining a "continuing 'theoretical understanding' of the grounds of their activity" (Giddens 1984:6). Thus, human agents are able to reason about their day-to-day conduct and actions.	Rationality refers to reasoning rendered to explain behaviour, decision-making and choosing from among alternative courses of action.	Various ways of reasoning about their business enterprises, which range: from strategic, that is, long-term, thinking to short-term thinking; from proactive to reactive thinking; from positive to negative thinking; and from individualistic to collaborative thinking.
4. Purposive Action	An individual has to be a perpetrator of an event, in such a way that whatever happened could not have happened if the individual had not intervened, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Agency refers to doing, thus, action is central to agency.	I use the term, actions, to refer to what the participants did in order to bring about change in their lives. In my data, unintended consequences refer to the effects or results of actions that were not what the actor intended , Such outcomes could be positive or negative.	Actions performed to promote the trading business, social relations and the wellbeing of a participant. There were business-orientated actions, family and community-orientated actions that influenced business sustainability and wellbeing outcomes.
5. Transformation	According to Giddens, an agent has the ability to make a difference in the social world. The CA, also measures achievement of wellbeing outcomes as evidence of change derived from empowerment projects (Robeyns, 2006; Comim, Qizilbash & Alkire; 2008).	The extent to which business operations changed the lives of the participants beyond income generation.	The extent to which participants achieved wellbeing outcomes varied in terms of income generation, the ability to support family, to make autonomous decisions, and to be able to enjoy peaceful and supportive relationships as well as practicing cultural values.

3.4.4 How the organising mechanism helped to make sense of the data

The organising mechanism was aimed at shedding light on how the participants fared in terms of execising agency in ways that fostered their enablement and business sustainability. The application of my organising mechanism to the data followed four sequential steps:

1) Focused coding. In order to identify and name the main themes, patterns and to summarise the main characteristics of five dimensions of agency, I re-read the texts that I had previously coded and uploaded in NVivo.
2) Criteria development. I developed criteria for measuring the extent to which the key aspects of each dimension played out in participants' lives.
3) Clustering. I compared how the various degrees of the dimensions of agency played out in participants' lives. This led me to notice emerging patterns and to observe clustering in the data.
4) Profiling. I constructed profiles out of the clusters in the data. In this way I was able to tell a coherent story which was based on empirical evidence.

I now use the example of "agency – motivation", to demonstrate how I applied the four steps to the analysis of relevant data.

3.4.5 Focused coding on dimensions of agency

Following Bazeley's (2013; 227-253) suggestions on pattern coding, I read all the text in NVivo that I had previously coded under the specific dimensions. For example, under "motivation", I initially identified a list of 14 codes to which I assigned names and I noted which participants expressed these ideas and why. I then moved to condense the 14 codes into five broad meta-codes and in order to obtain categories that were more salient, I merged ideas that seemed to be connected. Meta-codes "represent a number of codes that have been pulled together to forma higher-level (more abstract) conceptual category or construct" (Bazeley, 2013:233). I also developed a "job description" for "motivation", to use Bazeley's terms, by looking at the role of motivation in the context of the organising mechanism and according to what the data manifested. I consulted my memos on motivation to see if there were connections between motivation and reflexivity, rationality, actions and transformative potential. The benefits of focused coding were that it reduced the number of codes created during the initial detailed coding process; it generated analytic codes based on relationships among codes and linked codes that suggest causes or explanations, thus going beyond just descriptive codes (Bazeley, 2013:232).

The following five meta-codes were condensed from the earlier 14 codes:

- Aiming to meet subsistence needs
- Seeking to satisfy security and protection needs
- Desire for autonomy and independence
- Passion-driven
- Motivated by social identity needs – social values and influence

For example, I went on to write the following summary about what the above codes were telling me about motivation.

Summary of motivation

The concept of motivation manifested as an internal drive that led participants to initiate goal-orientated pursuits through informal trading to improve their life circumstances. All the participants expressed their dissatisfaction with circumstances that prevailed prior to their trading businesses. Their motives were: to meet survival needs, earn more money, become self–reliant and independent, and achieve a sense of emancipation from exploitative employers and husbands. Passion drove participants through self-expression and creativity. The data indicated that motivation as a dimension of agency was influenced by societal values and modelling other people's behaviour. While motivation was an essential component, setting the stage for accomplishment of goals, it worked together with other dimensions, such as reflexivity, rationality and enactment of actions to enable transformation. [Data Analysis Journal, Mpofu-Mketwa, 2016].

3.4.6 Criteria development

Having established the salient codes for motivation, I moved on to identify patterns and clusters. I subjected the above-mentioned descriptive codes to further segmentation and more meaningful ordering. Looking at the above descriptive codes in relation to my central research question, *How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in Langa exercise agency in responding to structural opportunities and constraints that affect their businesses?* I was curious to identify patterns reflecting the varying levels of motivation which these women exhibited. Given the fact that they all had a certain degree of motivation, I assessed motivation against varying degrees of goal orientation, in order to distinguish levels of motivation in the data. Drawing on the theoretical framework that defines motivation as "wants that prompt the action" and my own operational definition, "internal drives moving to action", together with themes that I identified in the data, it was necessary to identify the patterns in which the concept appeared empirically. From the data, I grouped the descriptive codes on motivation guided by the extent to which the participants were driven by the following criteria:

- *The need to meet subsistence needs in the short-term, medium-term and long-term?*
- *Autonomy needs in ways that influenced short-term, medium-term or long-term goals?*
- *Security and protection needs, in the short-term, medium-term or long-term?*

- *Passion for their businesses and intrinsic motivation that fostered short-term, medium-term and long-term goals*
- *The need to balance conformity to social values and achieving short-term, medium-term and long-term personal goals?*
- *Taking actual steps to follow through on stated goals?*

3.4.7 Clustering – Comparing the different gradations of motivation

I followed Bazeley (2013:254-281) and Miles and Huberman (1994:90-141) recommendations in constructing , tables which dealt with the dimension of motivation and its meta-codes so that I could compare the data that I had collected on each participant. I recorded the details of each participant and the motivation meta-codes assigned to her case together with an example her coded text quotations. I also included a brief thematic analysis of the quotations, the analysis examined the dimension of motivation terms of the criteria developed in 3.4.6 (see Appendix I1). After I had compared how participants demonstrated motivation in setting goals, three clusters emerged around short-term orientated motivation, medium-term orientated motivation and long-term orientated motivation (see Appendix I1). I followed similar procedures for the other four dimensions of the organising mechanism – reflexivity, rationality, purposive action, and evidence of transformation. In the Findings' Chapters, I elaborate on the different characteristics of these clusters. Appendix I2 shows the meta-codes that emerged from the data and the criteria development for the other four dimensions.

3.4.8 Profiling – Constructing profiles out of clusters

Once I had identified the different clustering patterns for each dimension, it was possible to compile composite profiles based on the five dimensions of the organising mechanism and to locate participants along a range of dimensional graduations. Finally, the organising mechanism helped me describe holistic profiles of participants which were based on the degree to which their actions, rationality, reflexivity and motivations in relation to their trading businesses, were transformative. As indicated in the matrices in Chapter 11, the descriptions of the clustering patterns in the data produced three profiles, namely most-enabled, moderately-enabled and least enabled.

3.5 The quality of the inquiry

In executing my qualitative research, I aimed at producing a rigorous and trustworthy project that I could have confidence in the knowledge generated. However, I faced the dilemma of needing to construct a convincing argument, that was also sensitive to my interpretivist approach to human inquiry. Whereas quantitative validity criteria rely on rigorous adherence to methodological rules and standards, the human experiences of research participants in qualitative inquiries do not require such reductionist procedures (Angen, 2000:379). Nonetheless, qualitative research dictates that the researcher's inferences about the phenomena under investigation be sound and scientific. It is argued that the criteria of quality in qualitative research build on trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005: 28-29; Bazeley, 2013: 402). In addition, if a study is to be valid, specific techniques, which include, prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer-review or debriefing, negative case analysis, clarifying researcher bias, member check, thick descriptions and external audits (Bazeley, 2013:406-409), should be employed. To resolve the dilemma, I drew on Angen's work (2000:378) on interpretive approaches to validity and on Tracy's (2010) frameworks for quality in qualitative research. To remain true to interpretative approaches to validity, Angen (2000:387) deliberately chose the term "validation" rather than "validity" in order to emphasise that the judgement of research by the community of researchers is a continuous process. Appendix J discusses in detail how I ensured quality in the inquiry by paying attention to ethical validation, substantive validation and transferability.

The methodology chapter has presented my case study research design, the methods of collecting and analysing data, and a brief explanation of the quality of the study. The next seven chapters (4-10) discuss the findings guided by the research question: *How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township exercise agency in the ways in which they respond to the structural constraints and potential opportunities that affect their businesses?* The findings detail the themes and dimensions of agency with reference to cases and quotations in order include the participants' voices. For a summary of the findings and a description of the profiles go straight to Chapter 11.

Chapter 4| Findings: Barriers to Success and Opportunities for Enablement

This chapter responds to the first sub question, *What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?* I present the first research findings by juxtaposing structural constraints to opportunities available to women traders. By so doing, I provide a more coherent and balanced discussion of the women traders' situated contexts that they navigate and exercise agency. I begin by presenting a framework of analysis of constraints derived from Giddens's delineation followed by Sen's typology of opportunities that guided the analysis of opportunities. Giddens delineates constraints according to (1) structural constraints, (2) power constraints and (3) material constraints.

4.1 Constraints experienced by women traders

Table 4.1 presents the constraints found in the data, which are classified according to Giddens' typology of constraints.

Table 4.1. Theoretically driven themes with categories generated from the data as evidence of constraints

Theoretically driven themes		
Structural Constraints	Power Constraints	Material Constraints
Data-derived categories		
Class	Abuse of power:	Personal health
Culture and familial circumstances	At the trading site	Physical exertion
Patriarchy	Within the community	
	Through institutional regulations	

The structural constraints experienced by the women traders emanated from socio-historical contexts, such as poverty and the cumulative effect of cultural, patriarchal practices and familial circumstances that influenced dropping out of school and subsequent entrance into informal trading.

4.1.2 Participants' biographical information

Table 4.2 provides biographical and contextual information about the nature of their businesses, demographic variables, like age, marital status, and education. I also introduce here the pseudonyms for the participants which are referred to throughout the findings chapters.

Table 4.2. Showing nature of businesses and other demographic information

Participant	Type of business	Age group	Highest level of education	Marital status	Membership of traders' association
1. Bongi	Hairdresser	26-30	Grade 11	Married	Active member of LBF (faction)
2. Nosipho	[4]Offal butcher	41-55	Grade 10	Married	Inactive member (LBF original)
3. Pamela	Beef/Sausage braai	41-55	Grade 8	Widowed	Non- member
4. Linomtha	Vegetable vendor	31-40	Matric	Married	Inactive member (LBF original
5. Noluntu	Tuckshop owner	41-55	Grade 7	Widowed	Non-member
6. Lebo	Fast foods take away	26-30	Grade 11	Married	Non-member
7. Phatiswa	Muffin hawker	41-55	Grade 10	Living with boyfriend	Active member (LBF faction)
8. Selethu	Shebeen queen	41-55	Matric	Never married	Non-member
9. Thobeka	African cuisine caterer/pork braai	56+	Grade 9	Divorced	Inactive (LBF original)
10. Nina	*Spaza* shop operator	41-55	Grade 10	Married	Non-member
11. Doris	Open market lamb butcher	56+	Matric	Never married	Inactive member (LBF original)
12. Zukiswa	Open market lamb braai	41-55	Matric	Never married	Non-member
13. Khetiwe	Open market lamb butcher and braai	31-40	Grade 10	Married	Non-member
14. Noxolo	Caterer/Food Hawker	56+	Grade 7	Widowed	Active (LBF original)
15. Amanda	Fruit and vegetable vendor	26-30	Matric	Married	Non-member
16. Constance	Caterer	41-55	Grade 11	Married	Active (LTA)
17. Sofia	Confectionery bakery	41-55	Grade 10	Marrie**d**	Non-member
18. Nolufefe	Flea market	41-55	Grade 10	Married	Active (LBF original)

[4] Intestines, casings and other internal organs of animals cooked as meat

19. Zoleka	Beef and sausage braai	41-55	Grade 8	Divorced	Active (LBF Original**)**
20. Tumeka	Fruit and vegetable vendor	26-30	Matric	Never married	Non-member
21. Nozuko	Operates an open-market chicken butchery	56+	Grade11	Divorced	Non-member
Pilot study participants					
22. Victoria	Caterer	41-55	Grade 8	Never married	Active (LTA)
23. Asanda	Open market chicken butcher	26-30	Matric	Married	Non- member
24. Mandisa	Clothing/chicken/sausages	41-55	Grade 8	Married	Active (LTA)
25. Thelma	Home-based catering	41-55	University degree	Never married	Non- member

Table 4.2 shows that the types of businesses that the women traders ran were mostly food based and survivalist in nature. The age bracket of participants ranged from mid-20s to over 50 years, with most traders falling in the middle-age bracket of 41-55. Education levels were such that most participants did not complete high school, with only six out of twenty-five having achieved Matric level (high school certificate).Twelve participants were in marital relationships, three were widows, three were divorced, six described themselves as never married and one was in a cohabitation relationship. Eight participants considered themselves as active members of a traders' association, thirteen were non–members and four were inactive members of traders' associations. The demographic context of the participants reflected structural constraints that women traders encountered and in some cases structural opportunities as Giddens (1984:169) states structures are both constraining and enabling. For example, familial circumstances were both constraining and enabling as discussed below.

I now briefly discuss structural opportunities that will be juxtaposed with structural constraints.

4.2 Framework of analysis for structural opportunities

In discussing structural opportunities that were open to women traders in running their businesses, I drew on Sen's typology of five categories of instrumental freedoms, which he also calls rights and opportunities that advance individual capabilities (Sen 1999:10). The broad normative freedoms that enhance opportunities include: (i) political freedom, (ii) economic facilities, (iii) social opportunities, (iv) transparency guarantees and (v) protective security. Sen's strategic model of opportunities supplements Giddens' imprecise reference to structures

as enabling in ST (see chapter 2 for elaboration on the five instrumental freedoms). Table 4.3 below presents the main themes and categories of structural opportunities followed by a more detailed discussion of findings interwoven in a discussion of structural constraints.

Table 4.3 Structural opportunities analysed and organised according to Sen's typology (in bold) and data-generated categories (in normal font)

Sen's Typology of Structural Opportunities				
Economic Facilities	**Social Opportunities**	**Protective Security**	**Transparency Guarantees**	**Political Freedom**
Data-derived categories				
Market mechanisms of supply and demand	Municipal support	Social Security	Anti-corruption strategies	Women's empowerment
Previous employment	Statutory and NGO support	Informal community arrangements		
	Skills development opportunities			
	Social Capital			

4.2.1 Operational definitions of Sen's typology of opportunities

Economic facilities included market mechanisms of supply and demand in the broader economic realm. Relevant examples were financial services, wholesalers and a viable market for traders' merchandise. Previous employment also provided opportunities for capital and skills training.

Social opportunities that were open to the women traders included: municipal support in promoting hygiene and maintenance of public health in the trading arena, provision of housing opportunities and designated trading areas. Community organisations and family upbringing provided informal and formal opportunities for skills development.

Protective security that enabled trading by the women traders and promoted their wellbeing included institutional arrangements aimed at preventing vulnerablity and falling into abject poverty. In South Africa, the Department of Social Development (DSD) provides various social security grants that all participants accessed (DSD, 2010).

Transparency guarantees in the study took the form of anti-corruption strategies when the women traders freely voiced their concerns and held the government and its statutory bodies accountable in relation to poor municipal service delivery in Langa, unresponsive police, political parties and a general distrust of the government.Thus they demonstrated that they lived and operated businesses in an environment that showed signs of guaranteed transparency.

Political freedom emerged as a theme in the data when the women traders' narratives reflected their perceptions of civil rights as women, the extent to which they considered themselves empowered and voicing their perceptions of voting processes and political parties.

I now discuss structural constraints and opportunities in greater detail.

4. 3 Class based constraints and opportunities

Measurements of class derived from the data related to poverty indicators such as low education levels owing to dropping out of school, housing problems, the crisis of unemployment and family financial problems. These poverty indicators were not only markers of difference in the social ladder, but precipitated the women's entrance into trading businesses and shaped their daily trading activities.

4.3.1 Structurally imposed poor education

Limited educational opportunities predisposed the participants to poverty, creating a low social class, social and economic exclusion caused by structurally imposed disadvantage. Swartz et al. (2010) have argued that institutionally imposed socio-economic disparity, which excludes marginalised people from the benefits of citizenship, constitutes structural violence. Limited schooling occurred as a cumulative effect of multiple dimensions of poverty (Swartz et al., 2010). To demonstrate this phenomenon, Lebo's case best typifies the experiences of seven out of 25 participants. Lebo was in her late twenties at the time of the study. She migrated from rural Eastern Cape in her high school years and stayed with a female family friend. She worked for the family friend in exchange for accommodation. However, she suffered emotional, financial and verbal abuse from her host, who also overworked her to the detriment of her scholastic progress. Subsequently, she fell pregnant in Grade 10 and dropped out of school. The man who impregnated her was in jail by the time she gave birth to her baby resulting in single motherhood. Thus, deprivations occurred simultaneously in that income poverty, abusive and negligent familial environment, and teen pregnancy worked cumulatively to disrupt schooling. In addition, income poverty also caused most participants at some point in

their childhood to experience hunger, absence from school and eventually dropping out of the education system. Thus structurally embedded disadvantage in participants' biographical histories impacted on their current working lives and trading circumstances. This is discussed further below.

Although the participants constructed their narratives of disrupted schooling in terms of their individual and familial factors, it is crucial to understand that, for most participants (18 out of 25) who grew up under apartheid, such schooling discontinuities occurred in the context of apartheid's structural violence and repressive laws. As Sen's CA postulates, often, context-specific deprivations affecting women in poverty are taken for granted.

Low levels education were accompanied by evidence of a lack of skills development and access to information; exacerbated by a lack of exposure to business and entrepreneurial experience. Against the backdrop of a skills deficit, it was necessary for me to explore the existence of organisations in Langa that supported traders with skills development and personal empowerment. It was evident that all but three of the participants did not know of any organisations that provided information or training in business skills. Another hindrance to traders utilising proposed skills development was the time and financial costs involved in their participation in these empowerment opportunities. Sometimes, when the traders heard about some opportunities, they were too far away and it was costly for them to attend; they would lose income by taking time off. Sometimes restrictions on empowerment opportunities came from these organisations themselves. For example, Umsobomvu Youth Fund, a state-aligned organisation that supported entrepreneurship skills, had an age restriction, which excluded most of my middle-aged participants. Selethu, who was one of the few participants with a post-matric qualification and was a *shebeen* (home-based liquor store or bar) queen, appreciated the value of empowerment. She summarised the prevailing situation regarding skills development and training in Langa:

> [5]*There is no empowerment. There is no knowledge. There is no integrity. Knowledge is power…. There is no one to talk to. So, people end up poor and they know that they are poor…* (Selethu, interview, 2013).

A lack of knowledge and skills often led to disempowerment and ultimately perpetuated the cycle of poverty. Some "training" organisations came to the township and made empty

[5] Most of the quotations are in the vernacular, in translating I have tried to remain true to the original meaning.

promises to people. This led to mistrust, suspicion and a lack of appreciation for skills development organisations.

4.3.2 Post apartheid Cape Town- Economic opportunities for trading

Despite the socio-historical and class-based constraints that disrupted the women traders' schooling during apartheid, the demise of apartheid presented better opportunities for overcoming poverty. Cape Town, as a big city, offered better economic opportunities than the rural Eastern Cape from where most participants migrated. In addition, half of the women traders started their trading businesses during apartheid under severe constraints, such as police harassment and random arrests. The new democratic South Africa ushered in freer trading environments and opportunities. Noxolo, who has been an informal trader for more than twenty years, explained her motivation for her choice of business location:

> *The thing that removed me from there* [rural Eastern Cape] *was because here, the business is better. … You cannot go to the rural areas to sell there because there are no customers. Here it is in the locations* [townships] *that you can look for trading places and find them* (Noxolo, interview 2014).

Spatial and temporal opportunities thus played a crucial role in influencing participants' perceptions of their success in trading. Despite the increasing inflation, all participants admitted that, under apartheid, sales and prices were lower but legislation was extremely restrictive compared to current circumstances. One participant, who started trading during the apartheid years, echoed the participants' perceptions of trading opportunities in contemporary South Africa:

> *Things were cheaper in those days, mos. You could sell a chicken for R20, but now you can sell it for R80, you understand…. The prices have increased now. Then you could buy a chicken maybe for R10 and sell it for R20, but now you can buy a chicken for R50 and sell it for R80.You see, it is better now…. Then customers were many, but the police arrested us… now we are selling and there is no one to arrest you, you sit and relax. We did not relax like this back then. The police would take all your chickens and you would not get even a cent…. Back then they [the municipalty] did not even give us licences to trade* (Nozuko, interview, 2014).

Nozuko's statement posited that the current trading environment favours informal traders in the townships. The free market enterprise emanating from neo-liberal policies reduced state interference in price regulation. Furthermore, nearly all my participants had easier access to banking and opening personal bank accounts. Savings accounts enabled participants to utilise short and long-term investments. Although there was little evidence of awareness of other supportive financial services, four participants reported using financial services such as Umsobomvu Youth Fund (a government programme), Standard Bank Micro-lending services

and Tetla Financial Solutions. These institutions provide micro-loans to traders on flexible terms. My participants therefore enjoyed, albeit to a limited extent, financial support from financial institutions.

Suppliers, who provided merchandise to traders, created key opportunities in the broader context of economic facilities. Twenty three out of 25 participants supplied food (cooked, braaied or raw), catering services, or fruit and vegetables. The other two were in clothing and accessories, and hairdressing businesses. Traders got their supply of food from wholesalers in Epping Industrial, which is very close to Langa township. In South African townships, meat is a very marketable commodity, particularly the popular traditional favourite among locals and tourists known as *tshisanyama* (or char-roasted meat), and through catering businesses which served meat as the main dish. Evidently, at least within the parameters of my study site, participants had reliable supplies of meat from nearby farmers and butchers. Traders enjoyed sustained and loyal relationships with suppliers, who provided some credit and discounted prices. Selethu, the shebeen owner, who occasionally braaied for her customers, illustrated the wide choice she had in suppliers of meat products: :

> *I buy my supplies about month end and every Friday. Some of them I buy every day… There is N1 Meat, there is PB, there is Atlantic Meat, there is Gold and there is Score in Philippi for the pork… Ok, it is a farm and a butchery in front. They do everything there. They will slaughter it, they will clean it for you, then they will cut it for you… When I go for burgers, I go to Maitland, PB meat –they are juicy everyone loves them. When you want leg quarters (chicken leg quarters), I go to PB because they stock the best* (Selethu, interview, 2013).

Thus, there were abundant suppliers available to traders. Seven traders, who did not sell meat, operated *spaza* shops which sold fruit and vegetables, liquor, baking, hairdressing and clothing businesses. Mostly, wholesalers and bakeries competed for customers with discounted prices, doorstep deliveries and other promotions, providing traders with timeous supplies. During my fieldwork, I visited the fruit and vegetable market located at Cape Town's Epping industrial area[6]. The wide variety of fruit and vegetables at discounted prices, free fruit tasting, and an equally high customer demand for the produce, provided viable opportunities for traders. In the context of development in South Africa, the seemingly obvious provision of the market and a feasible economic environment cannot be taken for granted. In some southern African countries, like Zimbabwe, businesses have been struggling for decades. Thus, when participants enjoy the freedom to participate in economic activities, such as accessing a wide spectrum of suppliers, it also means freedom and enhancement of their trading capabilities.

[6] Epping Industrria is a light industry area on the northern side of Langa. This area has a wide supply of wholesalers and a fruit and vegetable market that serve Langa traders. Refer map in Chapter1 and Appendix H1.

Market opportunities presented themselves in the form of identified consumer needs, target markets such as congregating commuters at the heart of the taxi hub, community residents and schoolchildrent and social settings. Regarding identified needs, Phatiswa, who decided to start baking for a living, stated how she came up with her business idea:

> *My mother used to bake. She is the one who taught me how to bake and people love cakes because here in Langa we do not have a bakery that is another thing…. The bakery that was there was closed, so I started baking* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

In Phatiswa's case she identified a need for confectionery and started a baking business. Similarly, most traders, particularly those selling *amagwinya*, braaied meat, chicken, fruit and vegetables, found that local community residents provided a viable market for these affordable food items. Despite the homogeneity of products like braaied meat and traditional foods, it appeared that the traders had their own customers and niche markets, which facilated their co-existence and ability to generate income.

4.3.3 Social opportunities for skills development

All the participants cited family and community socialisation processes as socio-cultural structures pertinent in fostering important social values, trading-related skills and the very idea of trading. Most of the women traders acquired their experience and skills for trading from informal training learnt from other traders in the community, gender roles such as cooking traditional food. In understanding the seemingly mundane day-to-day routine activities that the women traders undertook, there was a noticeable inter-connectedness between those activities embodied in agency and structures. This provides evidence that individuals cannot operate outside the society that forms the basis of their existence. While social structures are often oppressive they can also be enabling (Giddens, 1984). Agents thus draw from their cultural toolkit to engage in knowledgeable, reflexive and purposive action.

A few participants mentioned gender-atypical skills that they learnt from their families, such as yoking oxen and ploughing in the rural areas, building, cooking, slaughtering sheep and braaiing. These traditional skills that were learnt by participants as part of their normal cultural and socialisation processes became the vocational skills that participants relied on for a living through catering, baking, braaiing, butchery and fruit and vegetable businesses. Mothers, especially, provided training in specific business operations. Nozuko, who has been selling chickens for more than twenty years and had previously been a tea woman and *sangoma*, mentioned opportunities gleaned from her mother who operated the same business:

> *I was making tea that time, what skills would you learn from tea? …. Because I learnt from my mother then she taught me, you trade this way... then I kept on with the way my mother taught me…. Things progressed, and I also got sick, but I treated myself because I am a traditional healer… There is a way because I got the money for starting the business there.* (Nozuko, interview1, 2014).

Twelve participants reported that their family backgrounds in trading prepared them and, in some cases, allowed them to inherit trading stalls. Tumeka, a fruit and vegetable vendor in the taxi rank for more than ten years, explained how her mother not only trained her to do business while she was still at school, but also left a licenced trading stall for her. Tumeka related:

> *I grew up under this business, when my mother was operating it. I would go and help…. I would go to school and come back to sell and returned late. So, I knew from the time I started how to operate the business and what to do… It was my mother's stand, it was here, and I did not have any other choice and I had to be here because apparently the licence was booked at this stand.* (Tumeka, interview April 2014).

When families influence important life pathways like self-employment, this shows the important role of families as social opportunities to foster social arrangements like employment in times of high unemployment. In addition to skills training, the family also plays the role of inculcating values such as respect, warmth and friendliness, diligence, perseverance, patience and altruism. However, thirteen participants said that their communities played a more important role in shaping their trading careers than their family backgrounds . They observed how others in the community purchased merchandise from wholesalers and farms for reselling and applied themselves to do the same. Community relations in township settings are such that interdependence and interpersonal interactions based on (*ububele)* kindness, (*inhlonipo*) respect and general warmth are key to gaining any form of social bargain, not least, in the process of buying and selling. These values were intrinsic to the operation of the trading businesses, as traders they incorporated them in other facets of business operations, such as customer service, interpersonal relations and resilience during hard times.

Economic facilities in the form of previous work experience also offered opportunities for skills development. Of the 25 participants, four worked in places that developed skills directly linked to their current business. Whereas ten participants worked in places that required skills that were not relevant to their current business, they nevertheless gained opportunities to save for starting capital and relieving transient poverty. Eight participants reported that they had never entered the job market. Trading was always their way of earning a living. The four participants who had worked in places directly linked to their current business gained skills that include purchasing, selling, cooking, bookkeeping, debt-collection, and hairdressing. Nina, who had

worked at a family grocery store, expressed how her previous workplace prepared her for her current business:

> *I learnt how to make* amagwinya *[fat cakes] from them [Langa Dairy] … They showed me: "This way you do business." …ways of stocking, maybe you are going to stock, maybe at Metro you see... the flour is R50, at Cash and Carry, it's R42., "Let me go to Cash and Carry and leave Metro." I started my business very small. I started by selling cool drinks in the house…. I was selling one case of the drinks. I rose up and I sold chicken pieces…* (Nina, interview, 2014).

Like three other participants, Nina asserted the labour market's contribution in her finding employment and acquiring relevant skills such as stocking and selling. Ten out of twenty-five participants, who worked in places such as cleaning, making tea in offices, being a *sangoma* (traditional healer), domestic work, and waitressing, reported that their work did not prepare them with skills directly linked to their trading, but with interpersonal skills. Some skills that they learnt were not directly transferable and relevant to their current businesses. For example, ten participants worked in restaurants and bakeries serving western food in Cape Town City Centre, but later operated catering businesses for traditional food in Langa. They did not find the skills from those places useful because of different cuisines and different clientele tastes. The concept of cultural capital is useful here to explain the inflexibility of skills transfer between different cultural groups. Cultural capital refers informal knowledge of how systems work in schools and the labour market, linguistic aptitudes, appropriate manners (Phadi & Ceruti, 2013; Seekings, 2008). Nine participants applied traditionally acquired cultural capital to their niche market in Langa thereby utilising readily available resources in the existing economic system.

4.3.4 Housing related constraints

Inadequate housing was also a poverty indicator, which exposed participants to vulnerabilities. Housing problems in Langa, like most townships in Cape Town, have a protracted history embedded in economic and socio-political contexts of South Africa. Shack dwellers lived with the risk of their shacks burning down. Four participants reported that, in 2005, they experienced a crisis when their shacks burnt down and they relocated to Delft Township, 20 km from Langa. Consequently, these participants had to commute from Delft to Langa to operate their long-established businesses at additional transport costs.Council apartment dwellers also complained of poor municipal services resulting in a lack of toilet facilities, difficulties in getting tap water, poor drainage and littering, resulting in a filthy environment. Living in a clean environment with access to tap water is a fundamental right even for all people. Most participants, who lived in shacks, expressed the difficulties of getting a house through the

government-housing programme or through the property market. Talking about obtaining a house or plot through the government, Bongi expressed her desperate desire to own a government subsidised property. She was in her early thirties at the time of the study. After migrating to Cape Town from Eastern Cape, she had operated a hairdressing salon for over 10 years. In the quote below, Bongi portrays a sense of loss and betrayal by the government:

> *It was going to be easier if the government gave me land and said, "You are free to build your own house there" …. Maybe let's say I have R10,000, I can buy bricks then maybe with my bricks I can build halfway. I will carry on and save money and buy more bricks while I am still staying here [in the shack]. When the house is finished, I will destroy this one [a shack], I will stay in my house….. But the [government] doesn't give you the plot…. We will end up dying here before getting anything* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Bongi believed that her only hope of ever owning a house was with a state subsidy. Other participants in similar circumstances had lost hope of receiving government Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses that some had applied for as far back as twenty years ago. A few participants chose the alternative route of buying houses in the market and taking mortgage bonds. However, they found themselves becoming vulnerable to unaffordable debt and having their house repossesed by the bank when they were unable to pay the monthly bond repayments due to unemployment. This affected their ability to function effectively in their trading operations, thus diminishing their capabilities.

4.3.5 Social opportunities for Housing

Provision of housing was among the limited services offered by the municipality. Six of the participants (Amanda, Linomtha, Noluntu, Lebo, Thobeka and Noxolo) lived in council flats, which were near their trading businesses. Three participants (Nosipho, Victoria and Mandisa) lived in Delft council flats provided by the municipality when their shacks burnt down in 2005. Nosipho reported the municipality's role in securing her and others alternative housing:

> *My shack burnt down in 2005 then we got in temporary shelter, so we stayed there in tents at the school…. We did not buy or rent. We stayed in them then we got houses after putting down our names on a list* (Nosipho, interview, 2013).

By placing people in better housing, the municipality provided a social opportunity that enhanced people's capabilities to live their lives in dignified ways, thus promoting their wellbeing.

4.3.6 The crisis of unemployment and financial constraints

According to the personal biographical histories of the women trader participants, massive unemployment affected their businesses, as customers could no longer afford to buy their

products, particularly in the middle of the month. These findings about the impact of unemployment on informal trading concur with Cohen's (2010) findings about informal traders in Johannesburg, who reported women traders as suffering low sales due to changes in customers buying behaviour and demand.Cohen (2010) concluded that there is intrinsic connection between the informal and formal economies in the context of deteriorating macroeconomic conditions with diminishing growth and increasing unemployment (Chen, Roever & Skinner, 2016:336).

Participants' reproductive and productive roles where affected in terms of working outside their homes while at the same time performing domestic duties. Within their households, 20/25 participants were sole breadwinners supporting other unemployed adults in their families with little or no help from intimate partners or other family members. To exacerbate their problems, six women who were in marital or cohabitation relationships, experienced unemployment crises when their male life partners lost their jobs due primarily to short term contracts ending and few employment opportunities in the job market . Constance, a single mother who lived with adult children and several extended family members, operated a catering business as the sole breadwinner. She explained the impact of unemployment on her own family:

> *They do not get permanent* [jobs]*.... They work with agencies now... so, if a contract is finished, it is finished. It is like that.... My daughter is still in school. But my son did oral hygiene, he is an oral hygienist, he has a diploma, but he didn't get a job. Even my daughter went to school, but she did not finish school because of money... There are no jobs (Constance, interview, 2014).*

Unemployment reflects broader structural factors that affected the women traders. This impacted negatively not only on their families' ability to pay for household expenses, but also on their children's prospects of escaping the poverty trap. Unemployment was a constant constraint for the participants, who alternated between trading and low-paying informal work (cleaning, grocery shops and restraurants), resorting to trading only as a means of curbing transient poverty.

Financial resources impinged on women traders when acquiring starting capital, managing cash flow and maintaining savings, debt management and processes involved in trying to get financial support. To initiate their trading businesses, most women relied largely on meagre savings from previous low-paying jobs, or small amounts, such as R50 from family members, who were also struggling financially. This restricted the women traders' business choices to selling low-priced food items, like eggs, chicken pieces, offal or fruit and vegetables. It also meant limited possibilities of expanding businesses due to small profits generated from their businesses. It was very common for participants to narrate their difficulties in growing their

businesses beyond merely meeting their subsistence needs in order to save and invest in their businesses. Phatiswa explained:

> *You are not supposed to spend business money, but it depends… We live a difficult life; we must eat from that money and at the same time we need to have some business money that we set aside for the business to grow …you understand. Now when I buy these small things, I will not be able to do that because I must buy soap, I must buy toothpaste, I must buy roll-on and food for the house. How will I save?* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013)

Many participants found it difficult to save due to family household expenses and, in some cases, remittances sent to families left in rural Eastern Cape, as well as other extended family members. While 12 out of 25 women traders complained about lack of capital and money for stocking and other expenses, they preferred to endure the financial hardships than apply for bank loans as most of them abhorred debt for the fear of being trapped by it. For example, Zoleka explained her reluctance to take a loan for her struggling business:

> *It is hard if I do not get any sales and I must borrow the money. It is difficulty to pay it off… I borrowed it when I started the business… I am afraid of borrowing money because I will not be able to pay it back. I do not want to borrow money… If I do not have money, I just stay and do not do anything. I wait until I get money for me to do what I need to do.* (Zoleka, interview, 2014)

Like many traders in her situation, Zoleka made a calculated decision to not add debt to her struggling business. However, their inability to tap into available financial opportunities exacerbated their financial problems. Lack of alternative financial support was indicative of both the trader's lack of initiative as well as a lack of information about alternative financial support systems, such as micro lending and the Standard Bank entrepreneurial support initiatives cited by some participants. Participants, who seemed innovative and more enterprising in their businesses, regarded loans more openly than those whose businesses struggled.

Restrictive administrative procedures, stringent financial requirements and time needed to collate required documents deterred participants from seeking financial support. For example, having a debt with clothing stores as small as R70 precluded banks from lending to them, which some found unreasonably rigid. In other cases, banks expected them to have a minimum regular deposit in the bank, which most traders found difficult to maintain. For a few participants, who managed to get loans, the application process took longer than anticipated. Describing her experiences of trying to get group loans with other traders from Old Mutual, Bongi lamented the difficulties:

> *It is difficult because I need to first register the business, need to have a business account, a clearance and a business plan… it is difficult to do all those things.… Oh, the person did not get back to us; he said he was going to phone us, but he said we must first do these things.* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Some banks were not willing to offer loans to self-employed people due to perceived risks, which put traders in difficult positions, as they did not have payslips to prove regular income. Four participants who managed to get personal or business loans, expressed that they preferred financial organisations to offer more flexible payment terms, especially when they experienced crises like unemployment. When Sofia and her husband both lost their jobs, they could no longer meet the repayments on their housing loan. Sofia explained her desire to continue the repayments at a reduced rate and her distrust of the entire banking system:

> *No, there are agents that move around maybe in the bank. I think they have inside people there that tell, "This person has a problem." So, they buy the house from the auction… Something fishy... They do not give you time that you can pay R500 [before repossessing and selling the house] since you are not working* (Sofia, Interview 1, 2014).

Importantly, Sofia did not intend to evade her financial obligations. She preferred that the financial system make allowances for her to make flexible affordable payments.

Because of financial hardships, participants also had problems with obtaining equipment and utensils for their businesses as well as trading facilities. In my fieldwork, I noticed that it was common practice for participants to use makeshift utensils, such as drums to make braai stands, crates and buckets as chairs at the trading stalls, operating hairdressing salons with no running water and using buckets to wash clients' hair, and generally operating businesses in shacks (Fieldnotes Journal April 2013). Nosipho, for example, operated an open-space butchery but had no weighing scale. She had to estimate the pieces by cutting them. It is also common practice in townships to sell unfrigerated raw meat in the absence fridges as depicted in Figure 4.1. below.

Figure 4.1. During participant observation, I was standing at Nosipho's open butchery stall that sold offal.

4.3.7 Opportunities to curb financial constraints

To curb the constraint of unemployment, the labour market provided economic opportunities as outlined in Sen's (1999) typology. Previous work experience gained through the labour market enabled some women to get starting capital to initiate trading businesses. In some cases, work served to assuage transient poverty, especially during migration periods from rural Eastern Cape to Cape Town.

In addition to labour market opportunities, social security grants helped abate financial constraints. All the participants in the study benefited from one or other social support grant from the state. Two older participants received a monthly old age pension of R1 600, while 15 participants (who had children below 18 years) received child support grants of R350[7]. Two participants, whose mothers had disabilities, received disability grants of R1 600. Despite participants' complaints about the grants' value in relation to their expenses, the grants supplemented their household income.

Furthermore, all participants made their own community arrangements through *stokvels* to provide business and household income savings. These arrangements were seen as opportunities because they provided safety nets that enabled participants to continue the operation of their businesses. Participants saved their money weekly or monthly in a savings group (called a *stokvel*) and sometimes they encouraged family members to join the group. Nina, for example, taught her children to save their pocket money in a *stokvel* every month, thus instilling good saving practices among their children. Participants used savings for various purposes, such as improving homes in the rural areas, purchasing vehicles, performing traditional rituals, deposits for houses or depositing in banks for longer-term investments.

4.4 Culture and familial circumstances

4.4.1 Culture and family as constraining

IsiXhosa-speakers' socio-cultural heritage is communalistic. Families support their relatives by taking extended family members into their households to support them. This practice constitutes the value system of *Ubuntu* (see Ramphele, 1989; Spiegel *et al.*, 1996). Values of *ubuntu* have well-established benefits for African families; however, some aspects can be

[7] These figures are for 2017.

burdensome for people from poor families who are becoming upwardly mobile. The practice of *ubuntu* serves as a form of social capital for rural immigrants live with their urban relatives for an easier migration transition. Nonetheless, evidence abounds of the practice not being as altruistic and communally interdependent as it seems (Ramphele, 1989). Five participants who lived with extended family members reported emotional, verbal and financial abuse which left them feeling betrayed and bitter (Interviews with Lebo, Sofia, Nolufefe, Selethu, and Amanda 2013-2014). This is evidence of how the abuse of power in extended family living arrangements belies the conception of communalistic and caring relationships within African families. Extended family living arrangements devoid of a nurturing relationships that are conducive to physical, psychological and social wellbeing impact negatively on youth development (Bray et al., 2010; De Lannoy et al., 2015).

4.4.2 Culture and family as enabling

In the context of urban poverty linked to rural-urban migration, family support often serves as a buffer against difficulties in accessing basic resources and socio-economic opportunities such as accommodation, income and establishing businesses. During apartheid, the influx control system[8] restricted the movement of women to urban areas to join their husbands, who worked in the cities. With demise of apartheid and removal of influx controls some women found it easier to transition to Cape Town, as their husbands had secured accommodation. Almost half (12/25) of the participants, who were married or widowed, described their husbands' assistance with starting capital or loans. Husbands or partners played a role in assisting with trading activities, like selling, stocking, household chores and caregiving, when the women participants were running errands or performing other duties. Despite the highly patriarchal and traditional contexts of many families in the study, at least four of the married participants reported experiencing some form of egalitarian marital relations. Amanda, for example, related how role allocation worked in her marriage such that her husband performed gender-atypical tasks in a way that promoted family wellbeing:

> *When my husband comes from work, I do not make him food because I am busy* [trading]. *…. . We got married fifty-fifty, mos that is what I say, even if he works …he understands that I am pregnant I can sit, I am tired…… So, he makes himself food or cooks if he wants. He says I must not cook; he will cook for himself and feed us. But he doesn't wash the dishes he knows that the child will wash them....he likes making himself food and ironing for me. He does not ask a person to iron for him, instead I am the one who asks him, "When you iron please iron for me." Or he asks me, "What are you going to wear? I will*

[8] The influx control system regulated movement of African people from rural to urban areas under apartheid laws of segregation.

> *iron for you." So, we work for each other. In my marriage, I am staying nicely….* (Amanda, Interview 1, 2014).

Similar to three other participants, Amanda enjoyed a mutually supportive and wellbeing-enhancing relationship. The unmarried participants, while not enjoying support from life partners, had more autonomy in running their businesses and other decisions that affected their lives. Thobeka, for example, summarised the sentiments of most participants who were not in marital relationships:

> *No, I do not have a husband, no one is going to ask me* [about her income] *…. Even if I bring ten cents, it is mine, not a husband's… I trade on my own, and I do not want an outsider to get involved in my business* (Thobeka, Interview 1, 2013*)*.

Marital status thus had its own trade-offs in relation to support and wellbeing outcomes. Depending on their age and gender, children assisted with chores that included cooking, caring for older and sick extended family members, cleaning the trading site and home, laundry duties, erecting trading tents and assisting with selling at the trading site, amongst other duties. For participants who had adult children, their children were sources of emotional support, supplementary income, bought groceries and provided advice about trading.

Extended family members also assisted with starting capital, childcare duties, and household chores when participants were away from the trading sites. Fewer participants had maiden families providing financial assets, such as family houses for those who lived in brick houses as second-generation residents in Langa, and starting capital for the business. Zukiswa, who has been running a successful braai business for over ten years, explained how she got her starting capital:

> *I did not have a problem* [getting capital] *…When my mother passed away, we were three girls left. We bought everything for the funeral then from there we had R15 000 left as our security. From the R15 000, each one said she is going to buy this and buy this. It was easy like that* (Zukiswa, Interview, 2014).

Financial assistance from families was thus a critical source of support for the women's businesses, and supplemented financial and state institutions where they were not accessible.

4.5 Constraints derived from patriarchy

Cultural traditions and practices that affected women traders emanated from patriarchal structures. Some middle-aged women in the study experienced triple oppression (class, culture and gender) when parents forced them to leave school between the seventh and ninth grade and into arranged marriages. Three women specifically reported these experiences, culturally known as *ukutwala*, where parents gave a teenage girl in marriage to a man against her will.

Pamela explained her experience of *ukutwala* and her acquiescence as a form of respect to her parents:

> *I left school. My parents married me to a man…. The parents back then did not care much about school. They cared about farming, sheep, and cows, yes… .... I was not in love with him. The past tradition said that when a girl got older, start[ed] menstruating, it was necessary for people from another family to arrive at your home and say they saw* [admired] *a certain girl. There was no problem…. I could not say: "I am going to the police", so that they will not marry me…. We did not do that thing back then. You needed to respect your parents* (Pamela, interview, 2013).

Like Pamela, some women experienced cultural constraints and internalised the cultural values without challenging those norms that disadvantaged them. This is an example of reification. Reification refers to "forms of discourse which treat properties of social systems as objectively given in the same way as natural phenomena" (Giddens, 1984:180). Discourses, which reify social behaviour, deny social actors the power to change their circumstances because doing so will cost them their social identities even if the identities compromise their wellbeing. Similarly, writing on gender and identity, Stewart and Zaaiman (2015:202) posit that gender socialisation and identity construction arise from powerful social, cultural and legal forces that sometimes violate human rights and override personal choices. A case in point is of schooling disruption based on the *ukutwala* cultural practice (Maphalala, 2016). The patriarchal practice of *ukutwala* was experience by three participants who reported how it restricted their life chancesby disrupting their schooling, limiting career options and depriving them of some business skills (Thobeka, interview, 2013; Pamela, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013).

Critics may challenge the reification and acquiescence of women to norms and values that disadvantaged them, contending that their conformity to these imposed and oppressive social practices contributed to their continuity. Writing on the practice *ukutwala*, Kaschula, Huisamen, Mostert and Nosilela, (2013), highlight the complexities presented by the co-existence of tradition and modernity in a postmodern society.The multicultural nature of society pose cultural dissonance arising from conflicting notions of cultural rights and the rights of individuals as enshrined in a liberal South African constituition (Kaschula et al, 2013). Reasonable as it seems to understand the conformity of women to patriarchal constraints in the cultural context in which they occur, evidence from my study revealed a more complex scenario. The patriarchal impositions were unwelcomed and personal choice prevailed over cultural and patriarchal constructed identities. Thobeka, a caterer who left school because of her arranged marriage or *ukutwala*, despised the imposed marriage, stating how it ended:

> *I came from school straight to my marital home. …. I didn't even know my future husband face-to-face…. The people who looked out for him and saw that I was all right to marry him chose me… But I didn't stay nicely all those years but getting married was out of respecting my parents…. I got married because the*

> *parents said so…… So, the two of us did not last in that way. Our marriage ended, but I stayed for years persevering because of my parents* (Thobeka, interview, 2013).

Thobeka eventually left the marriage, went back to her maiden family, later came to Cape Town, worked low-paying jobs in the informal sector, and subsequently opened a catering business. Thobeka's example shows that some women challenged constraining cultural practices rooted in strongly entrenched and intersected structures like gender and class, but sometimes this happens gradually Thus, while structures shape individuals, individuals can also resist and impact structures when they challenge oppressive practices. Some of the key arguments against the cultural practice of *ukutwala* relate to limitated schooling and livelihood opportunities, for girl children as well as vulnerabilities relating to domestic violence (Maphalala, 2016).

Gendered cultural attitudes and beliefs also manifested in the form of street harassment at trading stalls in ways that constrained the women traders adversely. For example, when Amanda, started her business, she had recently married. Amanda explained that she chose not to trade at the taxi rank for fear of street harassment and that it compromised her status as a married woman:

> *As a married person, if I go to the rank, there is no respect. The taxi people have no respect. When I go to sell the apples walking around calling out* [advertising], *I am smacked behind and my husband's status goes down. I need a stall, a person should come to the stall, you understand. When you are married, it is not easy because… whatever the customer does, you need to give them a smile, but here in the house. I will be difficult. No one should massage my bums (*Amanda, Interview1, 2014).

For Amanda, avoidance of places that exposed her to street harassment was her strategy owing mostly to the status that she accorded herself as a married woman and her husband, shaped by the African cultural values *inhlonipo* (respect) and *isidima* (dignity*)*. Conversely, others like Tumeka, a single women,tactically responded to sexual harassment at the taxi rank by confronting abusive men if they harassed her.

> *I hear that woman's concern* [of street harassment]. *Yes, men tend not to like their women to work in the same place as them because it's worse here* [at the rank]; *they like to touch, they look at you in a bad way, you see those things... But I have not yet found that problem of having been* banswa [bottom pinching] …. *If a person repeats, I know I will get him; I get into their taxi and do not pay in the taxi. I tell him, "I am charging the money for that time when you touched me." Things like that* (Tumeka, Interview 1, 2014).

Although Amanda and Tumeka responded differently, the fact remains that operating trading businesses at the taxi rank was fraught with street harassment limiting their enterprising efforts by forcing some to move away from where their customers were located while others had to deal with constant gender power struggles.

Experiences of violence or abuse of power in intimate relationships among the participants varied and took different forms including physical, financial, verbal and emotional abuse. While it was not prevalent among participants, there were, however, two reported cases of physical abuse in intimate partner relationships. For example, Nolufefe was the breadwinner who financially supported her family through a flea-market business as her husband had lost his job, yet her husband was involved in drunken bouts, which gave rise to verbal and, sometimes physical, abuse. In post-colonial Africa, constructions of masculinities that emphasise responsibility, protection and provision are associated with domestic violence when economic forces disrupt labour markets creating unemployment for men (Helman & Kopano, 2016; Morrell, 2005). Proponents of gender equality, challenge such constructions of masculinities as they perpetuate gender based violence (Helman & Kopano, 2016). Some men resort to alcohol abuse and other women while neglecting their families. By taking out his frustrations for failing to provide for the family through abusive behaviour, Nolufefe's husband attempted to reinforce his sense of masculinity constructed in terms of violent assertions. Some participants, who were more successful in running their business and contributed more money than their male partners with contributed, unintentionally made their husbands feel insecure leading to verbal, emotional and financial abuse. There was evidence of how families and households were burdened by gendered power struggles. Sometimes, the perpetration of violence in families, particularly emotional and financial abuse, also emanated from women as opposed to the common gender-based violence by men (Amanda, interview, March, 2014; Lebo, October, 2013). This finding challenges assumptions about gender-based violence, which documents violence and exploitation as emanating from men to the exclusion of women's role in abusing other women especially when poor black women suffer the triple oppression of race, gender and class (Stewart & Zaaiman, 2015:209; Moffet, 2008:110-114). During my interview with Lebo she expressed positive experiences when she had worked previously for a male employer versus a female family friend who exploited her. While there is ample evidence that attests to gender-based violence or violation, male domination and patriarchal based inequalities, this finding from my study also indicates that not all men were inclined towards exploitation and domination, while not all women were caring and supportive of others. The implication of this finding concurs with feminist perspectives that argue for inclusion of men and women in promoting gender equality and a more inclusive approach to women's empowerment as men have an equal potential for social transformation in favour of gender equality (Helman & Kopano, 2016; Stewart & Zaaiman,2015:210; Moffet, 2008).

4.5.1 Political freedom: opportunities for women's empowerment

Personal life, troubles and changes in life circumstances, such as the right to participate in socio-economic activities and responses to gender-based violence, are negotiated through public issues, debates and historical developments. More so, considering the South African history of apartheid, which limited women' socio-economic and political rights and the politics of gender equality and women's empowerment in general. Regarding perceptions of empowerment, it was evident from the study that all participants perceived themselves as free as men to take part in socio-economic activities. This findings is unlike other studies that found women were disempowered and limited in accessing socio-economic activities like trading (See Alkire, 2008; Kabeer, 2016). Some participants believed that women in Langa had better opportunities for trading than men because of women's learned gender roles. Overall, women connected their freedom to broader socio-political freedom. Tumeka echoed the sentiments of most participants in her assertion that women in South Africa had opportunities to engage in trading:

> *There is no longer that thing, a woman should be this, a man should do this. That's why I say, people are not employed in the townships there is something called* "Vu'kuzenzele" *[rise and do for yourself/self-help projects], So, if ever there are people who look at that, they are delaying themselves because everyone needs to put food on the table* (Tumeka, interview, July, 2014).

Evidence from my study thus shows that, in relation to perceptions of equality, participants felt empowered. In the community, participants expressed a high degree of participation. Noxolo, a woman over fifty, who was also a member of the political party called the Congress of the People, and an active member of a traders' association, described the opportunities she and other women had to actively participate and take the lead in community affairs.

> *No, there is nothing like that because now, these days' people who are forward are the women. Even on matters about the residents, on matters of meetings about the community, they are the ones who are forward. Men do not care because they go to drink alcohol. There is nothing that disadvantages women now, you disadvantage yourself if you want to be disadvantaged* (Noxolo, interview, March 2014).

When evaluating the degree of empowerment experienced by the participants, their subjective appraisal of wellbeing outcomes influenced the extent of empowerment in their own contexts and histories. Four participants, who reported experiencing gender-based violence (from a neighbour, at the taxi rank or in an intimate relationship) also reported not only knowledge of legislative processes on domestic violence and rights about gender-based violence, but also used the statutory services and stood up for themselves (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014).

4.6 Constraints associated with power

The constraining aspects of power sanction people in various ways, varying in intensity from the direct application of force or violence, the threat thereof, to the mild expression of disapproval (Giddens, 1984). Evidence from participants' narratives pointed out that the sources of power that constrained the women traders emanated from**:** (1) power manifestations at the trading site, (2) community dynamics, and (3) institutional regulations. In sections that follow, I discuss how these dominations constrained the participants.

4.6.1 Power manifestations at the trading site

Traders experienced power struggles with fellow traders and other businesses, specifically in matters pertaining to customers, space and information. The manifestation of power struggles ranged in spectrum through petty jealousies, passive aggression and threats of physical violence. Regarding the scramble for customers, women traders in the study battled for their own share of customers with other traders and more established country-wide retail businesses like Pick 'n Pay. Traders who operated *spaza* shops reported the competition posed by Somali *spaza* shop operators as constraining. Nina, for example, who had operated a grocery tuck-shop for more than 20 years, commented on how she felt disempowered by the challenge of Somali competition.

> *The only problem that I have is that ... since there have been Somalis, the groceries do not sell.... The Somalis get the sales. … They [customers] leave us here and go to buy at the Somalians…. No, we do not feel all right with the Somalis.... We persevere, we do not like it, we do not want them* (Nina, interview, 2014).

Nina's narratives reflect xenophobic sentiments from some township trading business operators who perceive Somali trading business owners as threats (Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2014; Robertson, 2016; Steinberg, 2014). Evidently, the competitive advantage enjoyed by the Somalis in the market was a formidable constraint. Physical space contentions appeared in the form of sites for locating trading containers whereby municipality-appointed community committees, which approved and allocated trading stands, practiced nepotism in allocating stands causing community conflicts. Six traders out of 25 reported that they had to fight for trading space, claiming ownership to the trading territory. At the trading site, reducing prices to capture more customers created conflict and jealousy among competitors Nolufefe, for example, claimed that she was the first person to choose the trading site at the Shoprite parking lot close to the taxi rank in Langa where she sold clothing and accessories. She felt threatened by other women traders who started selling similar products nearby.

> *A person being jealous, yet she found you trading in the place first…. About jealous people who also have businesses here…. Like maybe she buys something that you are also selling without her asking the selling prices from you first* (Nolufefe, interview 2, 2014).

Nolufefe claimed the trading space and authority to approve selling prices simply because she was the first trader at the site. Nearly all participants attested to the jealousies they encountered at their trading sites sometimes leading to mild forms of aggression, such as selectively not talking or greeting some traders, name-calling and jocular accusations of using *muthi* (charms) intended to hurt. Lebo, for example, stated how community women expressed judgemental attitudes towards her successful take-away business by attributing the success to her use of *muthi*; an allegation that is verbally and emotionally abusive. This adoption of patriarchal attitudes by women to disempower other women demonstrated internalised cultural and patriarchal values through socialisation and reification processes. As evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft discourses, Nolufefe and Nosipho, street traders, alleged that their chronically sore legs were because of bewitchment from fellow traders at the same trading site (Fieldwork Journal, April, 2013; August, 2018). While many contest discourses of witchcraft, it is important to understand them in the context of power, threats and abuse. Mild forms of the abuse of power at the trading site occurred when some traders deliberately withheld important information, such as skills development, community initiatives and special promotions on stock and merchandise, to disempower others. Thus, the adage, "knowledge is power", in this instance, showed hidden manifestations of power struggles.

Customers also constrained traders, mainly through their difficult behaviours, gender-based violence, and not paying their debts thereby affecting traders' ability to purchase new merchandise. Sometimes, when the traders followed up on customers' debts, they verbally abused them or made empty promises of payment. Others reported customers returning perishable and used products, which rendered the products unsellable (Sofia, interview; Selethu, interview; Lebo, interview; Nolufefe, interview, 2013-2014; fieldwork journal & participant observation notes, 2014).

4.6.2. Community dynamics as constraining

Because the Langa community was the traders' market, community members were both neighbours and customers. This, however, does not subsume peaceful and harmonious relationships as assumed in collective interdependent communities. Alongside communal and interdependent relationships, there was also conflict. Most participants cited incidences where residents complained, justifably and unjustficably, about their businesses for littering and

diminishing the value of properties. The women traders counter-accused residents of council flats for littering their own neighbourhood. There was also conflict between traders and residents about ownership of land and space that the municipality zoned for trading. Some community members went to the extent of vandalising traders' makeshift trading stalls. The conflicts were often resolved through community street committees that mediated between the traders and the residents, usually in the traders' favour. Politics of belonging was also prevalent in Langa and manifested through conflict based on generational residential status. All these political and power dynamics contributed to factionalism within traders' associations, which hindered development, social cohesion and collective agency in the community.

Within the township setting, traders formed traders' associations aimed at resolving problems that external organisations and the municipality fail to address, as well as garnering bargaining power needed to access municipal support and services. However, the traders' associations failed to empower their members with skills and support needed to for them to thrive in their businesses. For example, of the 25 participants, only eight were active members, four were inactive and thirteen were non-members of traders' associations. The main reasons for the failure of traders' associations to fulfil their intended goals included a lack of shared information among traders, conflict between the traders' association leaders, a lack of leadership skills due to limited education and corrupt tendencies leading to a general lack of faith in traders' associations. Thirteen participants, who did not belong to traders' associations, were members either who had left the associations or seemed to not know about the associations. There was an apparent lack of trust in traders' associations. Tumeka, for example, explained that she joined a traders' association and later left because the lack of progress in achieving the associations' goals despite members' regular monetary contributions:

> *We had to take out money and pay joining fees…They said that so and so was going to visit us from Johannesburg. S/he did not come but we still had to pay out money… until we were discouraged. My sister and I, so we stopped going there because we had to pay R150 every month that we did not budget for. We then had to get out of that association* (Tumeka, Interview, 2014).

When I observed the traders' association meetings for a couple of weeks, both members and leaders attended irregularly. Desired goals lacked clarity and specificity and were therefore unmet. Leaders only sought to mobilise members to attract the perceived municipal support and monetary gains. Thus, while the intention of traders' associations was to support traders and address their trading-related constraints, they failed their members.

Among the major power constraints, that traders faced in the townships was crime that threatens their sense of security in the community. Linked to the incidences of crime is increasing substance abuse and gangsterism in the community of Langa. Of the 25 participants, six reported having personally experienced robbery, while the rest experienced attempted robbery, and/or witnessed robbery, shootings or break-ins. All the traders thus expressed a sense of insecurity in the trading environment where they operated as well as the places where they lived . In April 2014, when I was conducting in-depth interviews with Constance, a caterer who traded at the heart of the taxi rank, there was a shooting incident between rival taxi drivers, with one fatality, creating pandemonium at the rank, and traders had to close their shops for a couple of hours until the atmosphere had calmed. The police response to the shooting incident confirmed what most women traders in the study reported about the police's inefficiency and lack of care for community members (Field notes journal, participant observation notes, Mpofu-Mketwa, 2014). When I interviewed Constance on the afternoon of the incident, she responded to my question about how she viewed the service delivery of the police in Langa by saying:

> *Where are they [the police] now? There is a person lying dead. Why haven't the police come to take the person...? Sometimes they help, sometimes they don't. They come after a long time* (Constance interview 2, 2014).

Because of the police's lack of urgency and perceived incompetence in their responses, crime in the townships escalates, as people lack trust and respect for law enforcement. When discussing the theme of crime and safety in the trading environment, Pamela offered a very perceptive response by explaining the community's relationship with the police in the following way:

> *The police nowadays are not scary like the police from the early days [during apartheid] who people feared. No one could ever tell the police what to do. "Police of nowadays, no one is afraid of them at all because apparently they live with the people… The police assist yes, but people hate them* (Pamela, interview 2, 2013).

Poor relations between the police and the community is thus characterised by disrespect and distrust from community members. Criminals are not deterred from committing crime. Living in the same community with the police and witnesses of their crime, criminals often intimidate them. Linomtha expressed the difficulties of reporting crime by highlighting the fear and intimidation ordinary residences experience living with criminals in their community.

> *Yes, they [the police] do their work but the scary thing is that if you go to report, they want you to come to court... and be seen by that person* [criminal] *that you are the person that reported… It is scary, we cannot work with the police because of that.... Yes, the person will come for you… to the place where you live* (Linomtha, Interview 1, 2013).

The power and fear of criminals constrained the women traders' business operations by precluding them from attending traders' association meetings at night and restricted operating hours.

4.6.3 Social capital: opportunities for community support

Notwithstanding the negative community dynamics stated above, interdependent community relations and social support networks played a pivotal role in creating opportunities for participants.My study found that relationships in the community, organised groups and the broader community in Langa presented a rich source of strength, support and linkage to information, knowledge and important resources. Sen and Giddens do not use the term, social capital, in theorising the supportive nature of social relations in social transformation, such as poverty alleviation. However, Giddens (1984) alludes to the contributions made by societal resources and enabling properties of social systems. Sen (1999) emphasises collective and cultural agency. Social capital refers to a form of "investment in social relations with expected returns" (Lin, 1999:28, 30; Granovetter, 2005:36). The concept of social capital is useful here to help understand how social networks emanating from the family, dyadic mutual support, organised groups and the broader neighbourhood contributed to creating various opportunities for participants. Palla, Barabas & Vicsek (2007) posit that social networks from long established community ties, as found in Langa, are resilient and have far reaching social benefits (Granovetter, 1973).Traders reported that, in their trading, they enjoyed regular support from customers who shared clan networks in the rural Eastern Cape. Kinship ties based on clan relations played a significant role in providing market opportunities and customer loyality in the context of informal trading in townships. People sought to identify with those with related clan names, expecting returns for favours. On the negative side, this practice sometimes resulted in nepotism and favouritism in allocating trading stands, as discussed above. Social networks are thus fraught with complex dynamics (Granovetter, 1973; Granovetter, 2005; Palla, Barabas & Vicsek, 2007).

Social networks in the form of neighbours, fellow traders and churches, also played pivotal support roles for women traders. Traders relied on social networks to acquire some of the merchandise they sold to ensure constant supply of stock. Participants who sold fruit and vegetables, for example, relied on social networks in the form of friends or relatives who worked at the vegetable market to reserve produce for them or have vegetables delivered to their doorstep, thus making their trading easier. For example, Linomtha, a fruit and vegetable

vendor, explained how her nephew, who worked at the fruit and vegetable market, helped her by putting aside vegetables for her to purchase later:

> *Ok, I can phone* my nephew [who works at the market] *and say, "Put aside 20 bunches of spinach for me, put aside 15 cabbages." Otherwise by the time I arrive, I find the cabbages finished.* (Linomtha, interview, 2013).

Thus, social networks assisted women traders directly with their trading. Similarly, when dealing with bureaucratic procedures relating to trading requirements, regulations and resources, traders' neighbours sometimes came to participants' aid by helping them advance their business. Selethu, a *shebeen* owner, stated how her neighbours assisted her with the registration process for her *shebeen* in obtaining a liquor licence and allowing her customers to use one of the neigbour's gate as a separate entrance thereby conforming to liquor licence regulations. Neighbours also shared knowledge about traders growing their businesses in ways that empowered them. Catering traders, especially, used the time they served their customers, who were from the neighbourhood , to chat, get advice and motivation or to act as the advisors. Granovetter (2005:35) writes about the embeddedness of economic action in social networks and culture. In this regard social relations facilitate business practices and financial gain. Giddens (2001:1) aptly stated that, in sociological terms, when people share food it is not just consumption of a meal but also an exchange of meaning, symbolic value and social rituals through social interaction.

Similarly, *spaza* shop operators performed altruistic practices, like using their trading stalls as courier services where people received money and parcels, while a hairdresser used her salon as both a business and social space where women gossiped, and shared business ideas and other social interactions. The trading business was therefore not only a commercial centre for exchanging goods, services and money, it was also a social space for offering "therapeutic" support. Granovetter (2005) posits that social networks are influential in facilitating flows of information, mutual trust and rewards in social interactions.The dual use of trading stalls for both business and social purposes helped to preserve cultural values of interdependence and social cohesion as well as investment in customer loyalty; similar to corporate businesses engaging in social responsiveness. Giddens (1984) highlights the role of social actors in shaping structures through their enactment of daily-routinised activities, thereby building the structures of cultural/social cohesion and interdependence (see also Sassen, Galvin and Duncan 2018).

Organised groups such as community committees, traders' associations and churches were instrumental in strengthening their capabilities and wellbeing. Local township residents involved in street committees worked closely with the municipality to organise and approve the allocation of trading stalls. Notwithstanding power-related constraints in the allocation of stands, overall participants cited street committees as fair mediators when intervening on their behalf to legitimise their ownership of trading stalls when confronted by jealous residents. Thus, street committees expanded the participants' freedom to engage in economic activities that sustained their families.

Traders' associations, albeit limited in their transformative capacity, showed potential by intervening to mobilise traders' bargaining power and collective agency. Participants who spoke favourably of traders' associations cited mostly socio-emotional support and empowerment as the main benefits of membership. Of the eight participants who were active members of traders' associations, six appraised traders' associations as beneficial for acquiring knowledge about opportunities for municipal jobs, tenders and unemployment projects. At the traders' association meetings people also shared information about current community events, about running and improving businesses and generally motivating traders. For example, Bongi, who was the secretary at Langa Business Forum, aired her views about her traders' association:

> *The thing that the organisation helps is to have knowledge … about what is happening in the community. I stay informed about times when the municipality offered jobs for unemployed people... and business-related things. You mix with other people who are more knowledgeable about business matters… Yes, everything happening here in the township you will know because they first mention it at the meetings…. Because of joining, these are the things that I get* (Bongi, Interview, 2013).

Participants also cited bargaining power as a form of collective agency in addressing municipal concerns and threats from private retail companies. Nolufefe explained how her traders' association intervened when the supermarket company Shoprite threatened to remove her trading stall from their premises:

> *Our association is very important.... Because here at Shoprite we were supposed to be removed. But we were assisted by our association… They told them* [Shoprite] *that they could not remove people who have stalls here, because they are hungry. The association helped us because it said, "They must not remove us, and they should leave us to trade"* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

Catering traders, who were the early pioneers of traders at Langa Taxi Rank and members of the traders association known as Ukhupuma kweLanga Traders Association, which was formed in the early 1990s, felt that the traders' association gave them a sense of belonging, identity and security amidst the many uncertainties in their trading environment. The association protected their interests in matters pertaining to trading stalls, the taxi rank market, access to

municipal services (such as electricity, water and sanitation) and helped them against harassment and crime.

Lastly, the church, as an organised group like the traders' association, did not benefit participants with income generation directly; rather, the church was a place of catharsis for most women. The women traders in my study belonged to different church denominations.[9] Christianity coexists with African traditional religious beliefs and practices such as performing ancestral rituals, beliefs in *ukubekelwa (to bewitch)* and *umthakathi* (a person who performs witchcraft), initiation ceremonies and traditional healing through *amagqirha* (traditional healers). Both value systems helped the participants in my study make sense of crises that befell them and shaped their work ethics at the trading site. For example, they understood the concept of skills to mean personal qualities and values, such as endurance, perseverance, patience, faith, respect and cheerful disposition. These values derive from both Western Christianity and the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*. Because of the co-existence of these two wordviews in the lives of participants and urbanisation, the role of the church was sometimes diminished to social network space, marital and parental guidance, emotional and spiritual healing. Contrary to some churches, which promote prosperity theology and entrepreneurial development, in my study, there was no evidence of thechurch playing a pivotal role in sustaining the women's businesses. The limited opportunities provided by the churches is partly explained by Granovetter's (1973 & 2005) observation that close social networks, though strong, tend to limit innovative and novel ideas because people move around the same circles and share similar knowledge and ideas. Clearly, while church communities were supportive in promoting the social and emotional wellbeing of the congregants, participants reported no direct contribution of the church to their trading businesses.

4.6.4. Constraining institutional regulations

Women traders experienced municipal regulation in relation to maintenance of hygiene, allocation of trading space, payment of trading fees, licencing of liquor stores *(shebeens)* as constraining. While there seem to be genuine reasons for the municipal authorities to regulate trading activities in the interests of public ethics and health, participants experienced the law enforcement as disempowering, unfair and coercive. An example of this perceived unfairness

[9] Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian Church of Africa, Johns Zion, Universal Church of God, Presbyterian Apostolic Church, Old Apostolic Church, Jesus Family Ministries, Enlightened Christian Gathering, Holy Cross and World Harvest Christian Church, with Methodist being the majority affiliation.

pertained to the maintenance of hygiene at the chicken trading stalls. For instance, findings from my pilot study of four participants pointed out that the new municipal by-law required traders to pluck and clean their chickens at their homes instead of the taxi terminus. This new by-law added transport costs for women as they now had to transport the chickens first from the suppliers to their homes and only then to the trading site, instead of a direct route. In some instances the places were located two hoursapart. Non-compliance to the by-law was punishable by removal of trading rights. Similarly other Cape Town studies found these types of municipal restrictions constrained informal trading (Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2014; Sassen, Galvan & Duncan, 2018:290).While the municipal authorities enforced hygiene regulations on all traders, the authorities were guilty of not maintaining hygiene in the community. This is also noted by Chen, Roever and Skinner (2018). Mandisa, who sold chickens in the open market, explained:

> *The municipality makes my trading difficult by not removing garbage the way they should. There are things that we need to use. For example, a dustbin that we have. We requested a dustbin and we got it to dispose of the garbage, now we have a dustbin. But we still haven't got certain things and we buy them on our own. ... As women, we do not like this place to be dirty* (Mandisa, interview, 2012).

Clearly, while the municipal authorities imposed compliance and conformity to rules and regulations that govern the operation of trading stalls at Langa taxi rank supposedly in the interest of public health, they themselves failed to practice the principles of their regulation. Similarly, Chen, Roever and Skinner (2018:338) asserted how local governmentset rules for regulating informal trading while making exceptions to their own rules. In this regard, power acted as a negative sanction for non-compliant behaviour in a repressive way.Oftentimes, women traders expressed their frustrations and insecurities, fearing forced removals or actually experiencing forced relocation from their trading spaces. Thobeka, who experienced the removal and relocation of her restaurant from a busy corner of the taxi rank, explained:

> *At the back where they park the cars, my container was there... Yes, they said I should relocate; they need to do the paving [for parking cars]. That is why my business has become slow because the municipality removed me. I was doing business nicely…. No, there, in that place that I am now, you can count the people that come to buy. It is not the same as the rank because there people came to me quickly (*Thobeka interview, 2013).

The removal cost Thobeka her business resulting in lower sales. Taxi drivers also wielded power at the taxi rank trading site by threatening removals while the municipality authorities, who had the legal right to enforce the law, did not protect traders or allocate trading spaces in an organised way.

Another area of discontent among the traders is the municipalities control and exertion of power using newly introduced hawking permits and fees. For most traders, this meant further deductions from their meagre and hard-earned income. They therefore resented the policy. Traders who operated in the taxi rank had protected shelters and facilities like tap water and electricity. However, they were constrained by the municipal regulation that limited temporary closure to three successive days. This regulation impinged on the traders when they wanted to travel or when they were sick. This forced traders to find someone to operate in their place, at an additional expense, when they were away from the business. The traders' choices and autonomy in their business operations were thus constrained. Traders who operated *shebeens* were under strict surveillance from the municipality due to regulations that include permission to operate based on the type of dwelling place (whether it was a flat, a council house or privately owned brick house), operating hours, licensing and other operating regulations. One such participant, Selethu, operated her *shebeen* from a family home in a brick house; a few minutes from the taxi rank. She explained how various factors impinged on her business:

> *If you are selling liquor, then you must have a licence… (Whistles) Sana [child], that was never easy; it takes you years* [to get a licence], *not to mention the money…. Because you must have a brick house. You must have a title deed of your own. It must not be a council house. ... You must have two entrances: the entrance to your home, the entrance to your business… Those are some of the restrictions. Trading hours… It interferes with our business. All those new amendments. Like when they say, "Not for sale to persons under 18", now they say, "They must go down to 16"* (Selethu, interview, May, 2013).

Selethu was the only participant in my study who operated a *shebeen*, although there were others that I observed in traders' association meetings, who were not part of the study. For Selethu, the municipal regulations regarding setting up and operating a *shebeen* were so demanding and constraining that she ended up breaking most of the municipal by-laws that affected her. Among her customers were police who turned a blind eye to her breaching municipal by-laws which required separate entrances, limited operating hours and a different residential address.

4.6.5 Social Opportunities- Institutional support

Notwithstanding the problematic support rendered by the municipality, at the time of my fieldwork it did provide traders with designated free trading space. They allocated trading shelters for licenced catering businesses, depending on when they started trading and their nature. More than half of the participants described a range of municipal services including garbage disposal, providing plastic waste bags to traders for dispose of their litter, inspecting trading stalls and sites for cleanliness, fixing blocked drainage, enforcing cleaning standards,

and promoting public health and sanitation. Municipal support was thus a social opportunity aimed at enabling public health, environmentally clean community and green ecology for traders and the larger community.In line with green ecologies in the context of informal trading, Rogerson (2014:207) argues that local municipalities have a crucial role to play in identifying opportunities for integrating a green agenda in economic activities.

In addition to the support rendered by the municipality, about half of participants (13/25) reported that despite their inconsistencies in responding to callouts, the South African Police Services provided patrolling services that gave the participants a relative sense of security in Langa where crime is rife. Participants cited that the visibility of the police in the community when they patrol, deters the criminals. Two participants, who experienced gender-based violence, reported positively the police and court system support when they sought the services to protect themselves from perpetrators.

Whilst there was no evidence of NGOs based in Langa supporting the traders, five out of the 25 participants utilised skills development training in business management, baking and job-seeking skills, amongst others from organisations in other areas. Sofia, who attended the support services of an organisation she referred to as Banking Clothing, experienced an example of social arrangement for empowerment. She explained the comprehensive services they provided::

> *At Banking Clothing, we learnt about businesses. They help abused women; others[who] unemployed…. After you have learnt, they give you an amount of R500 to buy the clothes. Yes, in the business we had a target that you must get when you buy. That R500 increases… …how to look after the children, the skills… Yah they [are] helping women with children… It is in Observatory… We are learning many things, computers, everything there* (Sofia, interview2, April 2014).

The organisation thus rendered business skills and socio-emotional support for abused women.

4.6.6 Transparency guarantees- opportunities to fight institutional constraints

As a way of dealing with municipality restrictions and a lack of local government support, women traders had opportunities to voice their concerns freely. Nina echoed the sentiments of most traders regarding the perceived lack of local government support for street trading:

> *Hey, the municipality treat us badly.... Always they are saying, "We will remove these businesses." .... Always she* [Zille, then Western Cape Premier] *says she is going to remove them…. We feel hurt... What will we eat if she removes our businesses, Zille? How do we know it is Zille? We hear her when she talks on TV... She talks about us and say[s] she will remove all the businesses...* (Nina, interview, May 2013).

Nina's comment demonstrates that, although the women traders were poor, they had moral and political consciousness and a sense of justice that they expressed freely. Transparency

guarantees, refers to the freedom to deal with one another under the guarantees of disclosure and openness (Sen, 1999:38-40). As societies comprise of communities, when applying Sen's CA in relation to transparency guarantees, it is important to pay attention to how community members appraise the governments that serve them. Participants voiced out sentiments of anti-corruption and slow service delivery. Some participants described the extent of their dissatisfaction with municipality housing. Phatiswa talked about community residents exercising their collective agency by protesting:

> *I am still waiting [for a house] ... It is the municipality, yes... They said they are going to build the flats next year... Here in Langa there is going to be a protest on the 24th [of September] on Heritage Day* (Phatiswa, interview, September 2013).

Mandisa talked about how traders resisted corrupt practices among traders' association leaders thereby demonstrating their power:

> *Yes, there are things you need to do as members of the association. For example, we share ideas in this way and that way, because sometimes some of us* [traders] *are not around and there will be no one on certain stands* [trading stalls]. *Some might have gone to the Eastern Cape …some people will bribe to get trading stalls. We fight against such things* [bribery, nepotism and corruption] *that they should not happen here in our association* (Mandisa, Interview, 2012).

The traders used the power within their means, alluding to "fighting" corrupt practices as a way of maintaining and creating fair structures or practices in their trading system.

Giddens (1984) points out how the dialectic of control always plays out in power struggles and how agents in subordinate positions use resources available to them to transform their circumstances in context-specific ways. In relation to the concept of power, Giddens (1984) draws a sharp contrast between Durkheimian's construing of power as merely constraining and his Structuration Theory's strong emphasis on power as not only constraining, but also enabling and transformative. While traders appeared passive in some respects, they exerted power in other respects. Within the traders' associations, traders asserted their own sense of autonomy and sought to redress matters that they felt the original group failed to address by getting out of the original traders' associations, by so doing, forming factions. Transparency guarantees in the context of the study did not only manifest in relation to institutional authority figures, but also community residents were bound by norms of fair practice. Transparency and accountability therefore have far-reaching implications for development practice in relation to evaluating supportive interventions to prevent susceptibility to abuse.

4.7 Limitations caused by material constraints

When individuals experience material constraint, they will be dealing with limitations imposed by the physical capacities of the human body, psychological wellbeing and features of the physical environment in a way that limits their capabilities and feasible options open to them. In analysing manifestation of material constraint in the participants' lives, the data pointed to personal health, emotional stress and harsh environmental conditions as main sources of constraints.

4.7.1 Personal health as a material constraint

About a third (9/25) of the women traders reported suffering from chronic illnesses, such as arthritis, diabetes, high blood pressure and sore legs (Fieldwork journal entries, eight participant observation notes 2013-2014). The ailments limited the traders in the execution of their trading activities and resulted in reduced productivity. Other constraints, included time constraints which led traders to neglect their health needs for fear of losing business, exacerbate their problems. Constance described how she found it difficult to close her shop in order to go to the clinic:

> *Ever since I have arthritis… I do not know if I could get any help for the situation… I did not yet go to the clinic. I cannot go…. Yes, I am not well… The problem is I do not have somebody to pay here. When I have gone, I must close shop and go to the clinic. When I go to the clinic, it takes the whole day. Maybe you go early at five [am] then you come back late. So, the whole day I did not earn anything (Constance, interview 2, 2014).*

Constance, like other traders, opted to forego seeking medical help and continued to operate her business at the expense of health and ultimately her business. Thus, material constraints seldom occur in isolation but rather work in tandem with other constraints culminating in trapping some participants, like Constance, in poverty. Social determinants of health, such as class, gender, age and culture, are thus powerful in influencing healthy lifestyle decisions. Illnesses also affected women traders when their family members fell sick and needed attention. Caregiving was not only an aspect of traditional divisions of labour and gender rolesin the household, the care involved emotional labour as well. Some participants took care of old or ailing parents which added a financial burden and contributed to family conflicts, as some family members were not playing their part. When women traders had to care for ailing parents, they had to forfeit income, time and business opportunities. Cited as a gendered crisis, unpaid care work constrains women from pursuing things that they value. Linked to my study in relation to social reproduction is the gendered crisis of women in poor households who contended with the burdens of unpaid reproductive and productive work (Fakier & Cock, 2009;

Shafer, 2014). These findings are in line with Robeyns (2005) and Kabeer (1995) who found the gendered constraints on women who engage in self-help projects. When the women traders described their loved one's illnesses, they embedded themselves in the family member's illness reflecting how the illness affected their emotional wellbeing. For example, Linomtha, whose husband had a heart problem, reflected on how the husband's cardiac problem was not merely his but hers because the physical illness constrained her materially:

> *It is a long time since my husband has not been well. Because it is hard for me.... I feel that I am not all right, and I am much stressed now. ... It is the heart. It is surrounded by fat... I deal with it but I see sometimes it is hard, but I try. ... Because to begin with if a person is not well, you need not make noise. Sometimes if there is something that makes me angry, I think and say, "God let me be right let me not make noise"* (Linomtha, Interview 1, 2013).

The sense of obligation to make things better for the sick involved emotional effort and empathy, as well as a shared experience of the pain with those that are sick, which was linked to stress that impacted on trading activities. Material constraints occur in the context of caring for family members at the expense of the business. Selethu describes when she had to take care of her stepmother:

> *The doctor said it was an ulcer until she [stepmother] was diagnosed with colon cancer. I was taking her around hospitals…... But I persevered... I ended up giving up doing my business. I was looking after her 24/7. I remember it was the 25th of May when she was admitted at Somerset Hospital…... on the 8th of June 2009 and that's where she was going to the biopsy. While she was in theatre she never came back and that is how we [lost] her. Then we went to the Eastern Cape to bury her. We came back and I started my business again* (Selethu, Interview, 2013).

There is a strong intersectionality of gender, class, culture and age adding to the burden of care, limiting opportunities for some traders do business or to further their education.

Furthermore, women traders in the study experienced emotional stressors emanating from family crises, marital conflict and problems and other life shocks. Family crises included situations such as when participants or their husbands or life partners lost jobs, houses, family due to death. Low and inadequate income generated from businesses, struggling to make a living, challenges of raising children as single mothers and other difficult life-changing situations added to the stressors (Interviews 1 with Phatiswa, 2013; Pamela, 2013; Sofia, 2014; Nosipho, 2013; Zoleka, 2014). Family relationship problems, marital conflict in the form of domestic violence, verbal and emotional abuse were constraints associated with power, and caused emotional stress for participants as discussed above (Interviews 1 Nolufefe, 2014; Lebo, 2013; Phatiswa, 2013; Zukiswa, 2014). Women traders faced formidable life shocks exacerbated by limited safety nets. For example, when Sofia lost her mortgaged house when she could no longer afford to pay the monthly repayments to the bank due to unemployment.

Her near-destitution, unemployment status and disruption of family life due to changing living arrangements with her children who now lived on a separate property, were emotionally distressing (Sofia, Interview 1, 2014). Clearly, home and familial circumstances were sources of emotional stress, characterised usually as material constraints because of the effect they had on the functioning of the person.

4.7.2 Physical exertion

The nature of informal trading was such that the traders had to stand (and sometimes walk) for long hours, performing both trading tasks and housework, leaving them physically exhausted. It was common for the traders to comment that after a long day's work, they no longer had energy left to do their housework when the strain of trading took its toll on the body. In this case, there is an intersection of culture, gender, and class that has bearing on the material elements of the body and wellbeing. To overcome the problem of balancing domestic duties and trading when material constraints impact on them, some traders carried on doing housework, as they explained that they did not have a choice; others arranged with other family members to help with the housework. Some traders had to part with their hard-earned cash to pay for casual domestic help to ease the pain of tiredness. Carrying heavy loads of meat while walking long distances from suppliers and standing on cement floors while selling coupled with following up on debts from door to door are examples of physical constraints that affect women traders. Exposure to the harsh weather conditions, like rain, added to their discomfort and ill health.

Explaining the concept of constraint, Giddens (1984) emphasised not only the limiting effect of constraints but also their enabling qualities. Listening to the women traders' narratives about their constraints, there was an overt admission of how the hardships they encountered strengthened and enabled them. Participants echoed a common underlying theme of resilience emanating from a historical context of hardship. All participants reflected on their previous and historical constraints with positive appraisals of survivorship rather than victimhood. Some participants related how their constraints turned out to strengthen them and prepared them to be hard workers, employ survival strategies to provide for their families, persevere, and be independent and strong (Interview 1 with Linomtha, 2013; Nosipho, 2013; Amanda, 2014; Lebo, 2014). To counter the material constraints, participants exercised agency by drawing on social arrangements such as the public health system, social capital and protective security.

4.8 Concluding comments

While many of the constraints discussed above were generally shared by participants, it was evident that more structurally embedded constraints such as patriarchy, class as defined by educational level and familial circumstances interfered more with their ability to exercise agency. Participants whose families had fewer resources and were less supportive, who experienced more unequal power and gender relations, and those with less education found it very difficult to navigate other constraints and trade successfully. Constraints associated with power particularly in dealing with municipal trading regulations, competition with other traders, and difficult customers appeared to be more manageable for the participants. However, those with more supportive and resourceful families managed these contraints better than those did not have this support base. Those whose families lacked in support and resources relied on community social capital that had less enabling capacity than families. Thus, while all constraints were disenabling, some were more so than others.

The participants were not so overwhelmed by their constraints that they gave up. Each participant in my study demonstrated agency, albeit unequally. Family crises or adverse employment environments pushed them to open their own businesses or to aim higher than street trading. Clearly sometimes, when life knocked participants hard, they reflected on making the best of their adversities to survive the hardship rather than sink in the mire. Constraints can be enabling in that respect. They provide opportunities for growth and enablement. However, opportunities related to social capital were the most prevalent and therefore more enabling compared to other opportunities discussed above.

Chapter 5| Findings: Agency-Reflexivity

The following four chapters answer the sub-question: *How do women traders from Langa respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter in their trading businesses?* In this chapter I start with reflexivity as a dimension of agency that guides participants' responsive behaviour, by seeing in themselves, the environment and others the opportunity to create knowledgeable and social actors. I focus on the concept, how it manifests in the data, the criteria for assessing reflexivity and clustering among the participants based on how they demonstrated reflexivity.

5.1 Reflexivity: Working definition and facets

My operational definition of reflexivity points to appraisals (continuous monitoring) that participants perform in relation to self, others and broader environments as sources of applied knowledge in their trading businesses. Reflexivity is important in demonstrating that humans are autonomous individuals who learn from their social environment and act accordingly.

From the data, reflexivity manifested in participants' knowledge and awareness of their personal attributes and skills required in trading, relationships with significant others and the broader trading-related environment. Through self-monitoring processes evident in self-talk, self-reprimanding and self-interrogation statements participants reflected on self's and others' behaviour. Often this led to modelling, amending or avoiding behaviour deemed to yield unfavourable outcomes. This process of self-scrutiny resonates with the Freirean concept of "critical concientization" whereby the poor become critically aware of own problems and actively engage in resolving these problems (Ibrahim, 2006:401). I categorised the main facets of women traders' reflections based on how they demonstrated awareness of self-efficacy, knowledge about relevant personal attributes and skills, and knowledge of their trading environment in relation to business. Appraisals of relationships with significant others were important in reflexive monitoring of behaviour. Awareness and knowledge of these facets alone was not enough. It was important to apply the relevant knowledge in ways that fostered enablement, hence the development of criteria for measuring enablement in relation to reflexivity.

5.2 Criteria development

From the above facets of reflexivity, I posed questions to ascertain the degree of enablement that resulted from the participants' reflections, thus measuring reflexivity on a continuum to assess the extent of enablement. The underlying questions were: To what extent did participants reflect:

- on self-efficacy, as indicated by awareness of own skills, attributes and decisions to foster enablement?
- manifest knowledge about the external business environment that affected her trading and applied such knowledge in ways that fostered enablement?
- on relationships with significant others to foster enablement?

The findings generated three apparent clusters:

1) **Most enabled cluster–** Respondents' reflections showed evidence of knowledge of external environment (opportunities and constraints) in relation to own business, and positive perceptions of own skills, attributes, decisions and relationships with significant others in enabling ways. There was a pattern of reflecting confidence in success and expansion of businesses.
2) **Moderately enabled cluster–** While aware of the impact of broader macro factors on business, had positive self-perceptions in relation to skills, abilities and relationship with others, the participants grappled to translate the awareness in enabling ways. Their main reflexive language was persistence in endeavours towards earning a living.
3) **Least enabled cluster–** Participants were aware of the macro factors affecting their trading business, own important skills, attributes and relationships abilities. They lacked the ability to adapt to the changing environment and translate the knowledge into actions leading to change. Moreover, they expressed a sense of resignation and being overwhelmed by the magnitude of constraints and lack of opportunities.

It is crucial to understand clusters as patterns generated inductively and not deterministic and neat. A participant in the most enabled cluster could easily revert to lower clusters in response to environmental uncertainties. Similarly, participants in the least enabled cluster could rise to moderately enabled or most enabled clusters owing to more enlightenment of the broader environment and adaptation of skills.This is because people transition upwards or downwards as opportunities dictate, if the sample was bigger there would probably be more evidence of

this transitional process between clusters. Reflexivity is thus fluid and revolves around lessons learnt from the environment and applied in trading.

Table 5.1 locates participants in the three clusters.

Table 5.1. The resulting clusters of reflexivity

Emerging clusters based on reflexivity		
Most enabled cluster	**Moderately enabled cluster**	**Least enabled cluster**
Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nosipho, Selethu, Zukiswa, Thelma, Nozuko	Amanda, Tumeka, Noluntu, Asanda,Noxolo, Sofia Thobeka, Nina, Khetiwe, Linomtha, Mandisa	Constance, Phatiswa, Zoleka, Victoria, Nolufefe, Pamela

5.3 In-depth discussion of the clusters

5.4 Most enabled cluster

5.4.1 Reflections on self-efficacy

Reflections on self-efficacy were demonstrated through participants' narratives on awareness of own knowledge, motivations, skills, abilities and decision-making, in ways that contributed to successful operation of their trading business. Reflections included how participants appraised their personal attributes, such as being bright, clean, clever, courageous, diligent, skilful in tasks, such as cooking, serving customers, managing finances, stocking, coordinating trading activities, and knowledgeable about customers' needs, contributed to their trading businesses (Lebo, Interview, 2013; Nosipho, 2013; Selethu, Interview, 2013; Doris, Interview, 2014; Nozuko, Interview, 2014; Thelma, Interview, 2012). For example, when reflecting on her skills and abilities in relation to business success, Nosipho (Interview, 2013), who had been running an open butchery business successfully for more than twenty years, reflected on her skills as follows:

> *The skill that I have apparently is one; it is to tell myself that what is important is, when you are selling, you need to save money. Because when you spend the profit, you will not have money for stocking up. The important thing is to budget. You do not have to be, like, if you see people selling chicken pieces and you have money in your pocket you spend it. When you want to stock up what will you use, because apparently, you bought something out of your budget (Nosipho, interview, 2013).*

In the above example, Nosipho asserted herself as skilful in maintaining savings and proper budgeting to ensure the sustainability of her business. Evidence from participant observations in this cluster also showed that there were some connections between those positive self-appraisals, practice of skills and real accomplishments. Participants in this cluster attracted

more customers, generating more profit, and demonstrated adeptness at navigating constraints and utilising opportunities (Lebo, participant observation, 2013; Bongi, participant observation, 2013; Nosipho, participant observation, 2013; Zukiswa, participant observation, 2014; Nozuko, participant observation, 2014). In addition, participants with positive self-efficacy also demonstrated an ability to reflect on major constraints and personal crises in tandem with capacity to rise above the setbacks through the acknowledgement of mistakes, learning from them (internal attribution) and taking corrective measures. For example, in their personal biographies, some participants in this cluster reflected on their bad decisions and behaviours regarding intimate partner relationships that influenced their life trajectories negatively. The realisation of the toxic relationships motivated them to dissociate from them and work harder to provide better opportunities for their children and avoid the same pitfalls (Lebo, interview, 2013; Zukiswa, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Thelma, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014). Participants demonstrated more likelihood of succeeding than when they attributed setbacks to external factors or others while denying own responsibility to setbacks. Their reflections projected into the future beyond current trading businesses. For example, Lebo (Interview, 2013) reflected on her circumstances at the time of the study with feelings of dissatisfaction and sought to improve her circumstances beyond trading:

> *Sometimes I say that it was better if I did not get married…. It is the challenges in a marriage because I got married without Matric (without grade 12) and he [husband] being a policeman and from his family they see him as very high [in status]. So, it is necessary that the money that I have [from trading], I give his family to cover up the fact that, like, I do not work for the government… To solve the problem is to do grade 12, and work for the government so that I will be free and live nicely because they say I use their son.*
> .

Lebo recalled and reflected on her disrupted schooling because of teen pregnancy and subsequent marriage with regret. Her plans to pursue opportunities beyond current occupation as a trader were likely to enable her to achieve more wellbeing outcomes beyond income and possibly attain class mobility. Similarly, when Zukiswa's nursing career aspirations went unfulfilled due to her mother's terminal illness, she took over her mother's braaiing business. She stated that she did not regret her career choice, as trading was a lifelong career for her. Reflecting on past crises and setbacks served as stepping stones to further new goals. Reflexivity and motivation are thus interlinked.

5.4.2 Broader trading environment opportunities and constraints

Participants in this cluster demonstrated knowledge, and reflective awareness of the impact of the broader macro-economic environment, such as market mechanisms of supply and demand, competition with other traders, statutory regulation and policies, and consumer behaviour on their businesses. Participants drew on this knowledge and managed their businesses as reflexive agents. Compared to the other two clusters, there was more evidence in this cluster about knowledge and utilisation of available empowerment opportunities. Participants demonstrated awareness of available skills training, micro lending opportunities and entrepreneurial initiatives, such as offered by Tetla Finance, Umsobomvu, Business Place, Sanlam and Avon Network Marketing (Lebo, participant observation, 2013; Bongi, participant observation, 2013; Nosipho, participant observation, 2013; Zukiswa, participant observation, 2014; Nozuko, participant observation, 2014; Thelma, participant observation, 2012). For instance, reflecting on how the micro-economic policy of *Vukuzenzele*, promoted by the former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, promoted a strong self-empowerment ethic, Thelma stated:

> *I am using Thabo Mbeki's term, of Vukuzenzele, so I think that was my goal just to create my own things. I did not have a big business; it was only something that I wanted to do … It influenced me in a way that, "Don't wait for the government to do things for you. Do things for yourself." Each and every speech that he [Thabo Mbeki] gave on TV, he would encourage people not to wait for the government… Even today, it [the message] is still speaking to me. Even people in the shacks, wherever they are, they must just stand up on their two feet and just do things for themselves and not wait for the government. Because South Africans have a tendency of waiting for the government, like the RDP houses and all those things. They want to be given… but in the past people used to build their own houses,* how? *(Thelma, interview, 2012).*

Thelma's reflective comments portray a knowledgeable and reflexive agent, who drew on the micro-economic policy to shape her philosophy of earning a living based on self-reliance and empowerment. Participants were also keenly aware and knowledgeable about various market suppliers, such as wholesalers, butchers, farmers where they acquired their stock (Selethu, interview, 2013; Bongi, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013; Thelma, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014; Doris, interview, 2014). The participants' narratives of their opportunities were both positive and indicative of achievements gained through participation in ways that enabled them.

In addition, participants were also sceptical about organisations that came to Langa to waste traders' time and make empty promises and corrupt municipal operations. Thus, participants demonstrated critical consciousness in their appraisals of community-based organisations as learnt from previous experiences (Selethu, interview, 2014; Nozuko, interview, 2014; Zukiswa, interview, 2014; Doris, interview, 2014). Socio-cultural factors, such as crime prevention,

traders' associations and neighbour relations, were sources of knowledge that participants applied to other daily practices to safeguard their businesses (Doris, interview, 2014, Lebo, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013). For example, Selethu operated a *shebeen* in her neighbourhood. In the following passage she reflected on the importance of keeping good relations with her neighbours as a way of ensuring there are no complaints to the police:

> *That is why I said you must be on good terms with the people that you live with …If you are not on good terms with your neighbours and your customers are bugging your neighbours then your neighbours are going to call the police (Selethu, interview, 2014).*

Such applied knowledge about their environment was enabling and enhanced capabilities. Furthermore, traders in this cluster demonstrated more enabling reflexivity than the other two clusters in their responses to mischief-makers. For example, Zukiswa reflected on her experiential learning from customers, who try to create conflict by badmouthing her fellow traders at the braaiing trading site, and how she responded knowledgeably:

> *She [customer] will come and buy from you then she would say, "I bought from so and so, she charges a high price for very little meat, Zukiswa, yep, yep, yep." She talks, and talks, "I will never go back to buy there again." You do not need to answer. Just laugh and do not mind what she said because tomorrow and the day after you will see her going there but she was talking against that person [fellow trader]. Do not repeat what she talked about because customers cause fights* (Zukiswa, interview, 2014).

Like Zukiswa, other participants in this cluster avoided unnecessary confrontations with challenging customers and fellow traders, thus preserving a good reputation for their business (Nosipho, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nozuko, 2014).

5.4.3 Reflections on relationships with significant others

Participants in the study generally reflected on the importance of mutually supportive relationships with significant others in the family and community. In the context of township poverty, social networks were the safety cushion that protected traders. Given that most women traders were sole breadwinners and single mothers; social capital was particularly necessary to help these women cope with trading related constraints. It was evident that, when participants in this cluster reflected on their families, they tended to accentuate their breadwinner role, with the family playing an ancillary role. Nonetheless, they still acknowledged the important role of their families, citing families as the main reason for the existence of the trading business. However, despite positive appraisals of their families, reflections also indicated mixed feelings emanating from their difficult familial circumstances. Similarly, Sen (1999), asserted the

prevalence of unequal distribution of power, division of labour and income in households (See Stewart & Zaaiman, 2015). Nosipho operated an open butchery trade for over 20 years, but faced a major constraint having an unemployed husband. While Nosipho generally appraised her situational constraints and opportunities positively, her appraisal of her familial constraint demonstrated role complexities inherent in her family:

> *Because he [husband] knows he is not working, so I can't say, "We fight or I undermine him". I do not have problems because I am the person who works; I do not make decisions based on me being the one with money, let me do so and so, he does not have money let me not mind him. …. Whatever I do, no matter what I want to do, I talk to my husband, "Ok, we are going to do it this way." I will show him, "Father, let's do it this way." If he says," It's not alright", we are not ready, I don't force* (Nosipho, interview, April, 2013).

As a sole breadwinner and a wife in a conservative culture that values subordination of wives to husbands (See Kaschula et al 2013). Nosipho reflected on her traditionally subordinate position and provider role with a sense of willing acquiescence rather than victimhood by asserting her economic role in the household, while respectfully negotiating power with her husband, thus successfully balancing the role tensions. As a reflexive actor, she acted knowledgeably. Reflexivity in this regard connects with rationality, motivation, and purposive action in that one reflects on what one wants to achieve, weighs the benefits and options then act accordingly.

It was apparent that the reality of supporting extended family members taxed the participants' income. Participants in this cluster reflected on how they tried to balance their business interests and supporting their extended families. Despite participants' efforts to maintain independence in their business and decision-making, some participants' were fully aware that it was not easy to keep family and business interests separate. For example, Lebo's take-away business was successful and generated substantial income. However, her husband, who earned a regular salary as a policeman, did not support her financially. Furthermore, she explained that her in-laws demanded money from her regularly; hence, she struggled to manage her business development and her sense of obligation to financially assist her extended family:

> *I am not completely happy because I spend my profit on his family. Because I want them to love me, you see.... Yes, I have [to] buy love with my own money. They have this thing that even from the things that I am selling I must give them money because I got it from their child when I started the business* (Lebo, interview, 2013).

Lebo's reflections reveal that balancing family and business interests was never easy.

Interdependent community relationships also formed the basis of a strong social capital reservoir that served as a safety net in difficult times. However, when operating informal

trading businesses in townships, boundaries between business, community members, neighbours, fellow traders' relatives, and customers were usually blurred. Inevitably, successful women traders in the study were those who balanced valuing those relationships and protecting their business interests. This cluster of participants' reflections tended to demonstrate that they managed relations with a combination of amicability and firmness thereby maintaining clear boundaries. Commenting on how she dealt with customers who tried to take advantage of her friendliness and generosity when she sometimes gave small portions of meat to selected customers to promote her business, Zukiswa said reflectively:

> *No, it does not happen. I am straightforward. If s/he [customer] comes, I will tell her/him, "I am selling meat not a blanket that when you get cold you take from the wardrobe and wrap yourself in it, here I am making money. Yes, if you have a problem, I can help you," .... Yes, there are those who try their luck, but I tell them, "If you want our relationship to be alright, do this and that, stop that. I am not* dom [stupid] *... so, don't take advantage of me"* (Zukiswa, interview, 2014).

It took learning from social interactions to formulate a relationship stance that separated business affairs from social ones to foster enablement and wellbeing in social and business enterprises.

The poster in Figure 5.1 portrays how Bongi acted as a reflexive agent by responding to some customers' behaviour. Some of them, neighbours, friends and relatives, had taken advantage of their relationship with Bongi undermining her business.

Figure 5.1. This image is a credit management sign that I took from Bongi's hairdressing salon.

Overall, participants in this cluster, unlike the less reflexive clusters, valued community interrelations, at the same time they clearly prioritised their business interests. They seemed to find ways to balance their business interests and personal relationships.

5.5 Moderately enabled cluster

5.5.1 Reflections on self-efficacy

The moderately enabled cluster includes 11 participants. They demonstrated relative ability to translate their knowledge and awareness of own skills, attributes and business environment in enabling ways. Their reflections portrayed awareness of self-efficacy in terms of abilities, such as good customer service, interpersonal relations with customers, replenishing stock and buying good quality stock, maintaining cash flow, pricing, and selling strategies. To a certain extent, they practiced these skills at their trading stalls. They, however, only partially applied their knowledge, awareness of skills and abilities such that they compromised their trading businesses. For example, Nina, who had been running a *spaza* shop for more than 20 years, reflected on her perceptions of what she considered important skills in her business:

> *Oh, if you want to make your business to succeed in this way, if you are making R150 per day, take R20 and put it aside; it will make your business not to get broke. Then you save* (Nina, interview, 2013).

With respect to saving, Nina was doing well and to show for her savings, she bought a car and was the main bread winner, providing for a family of four children and her husband who contributed to the family income by doing piece jobs. When confronted with the challenge of competition of the Somali *spaza* shops, Nina, however, lamented:

> (Raising voice in frustration) *I do not deal with it [the challenge of the Somalis]. I am affected… Yes, I will do something [in response to the Somalis problems], I am still planning* (Nina, interview, 2013)

Nina's reflections showed that she did not actually address her constraint. She showed that despite her awareness of the Somali competition she did not have concrete plans to respond to the situation. She lacked the ability to translate knowledge and awareness into practice. Arguably, Nina could have been located in the most enabled cluster due to her astituteness in saving and reflections on her self efficacy, stated above, however because she lacked insightful plans and strategies to circumvent her competitors to sustain her business, her enablement was moderate.Thus, for reflexivity to be enabling, one needs to integrate knowledge and awareness into daily trading practices and strategies. Despite awareness of the above-mentioned much needed business skills stated above, participants in this cluster tended to lean heavily on social relations and interpersonal skills. They endured constraints rather than developing concrete

operational skills, like timeous replenishment of stock, repairing gadgets, cleanliness, and managing credit to sustain their businesses (Thobeka, interview, 2013; Nina, interview, 2013, Tumeka, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview, 2013). They struggled to respond to their context-specific trading-related constraints, such as responding to low sales seasons and managing perishable fruits and vegetables, amongst others (Tumeka, interview, 2014; Amanda, interview, 2014; Asanda, interview, 2012; Sofia, interview, 2014). For example, responding to a question about why her fruits were rotting, Tumeka said:

> *Let us say now it rains, the minute it rains the cupboards get wet, neh, and then they mix with the fruit. So, dampness also affects the fruit. When you are packing, you need to look for dry cupboards and put in those cupboards. If you do not do it like that, you wake up in the next morning and everything is rotten (Tumeka, interview, 2014).*

The above sentiments reflected that, while Tumeka was aware of the causes of her fruit perishability, she did not translate that knowledge into preventative practice; hence, her fruits rotted thus affecting her business sustainability. Similarly, Sofia prided herself as a skilful baker and described herself as serious-minded and focused trader. She developed many skills from a community-based organisation; yet, she purchased baking ingredients from a retail shop, not a wholesale, thereby compromising her profits. She also struggled to deal with difficult customers, who bought and returned her confectionery. She had to learn the hard way to implement clear customer boundaries by stipulating a no-return policy in her shop that was not there at the time of the study. Thus, in this cluster, self-efficacy and knowledgeability of good trading practices lacked application.

5.5.2 Trading business, broader socio-political and economic milieu

Like participants in the most enabled cluster, participants in this cluster demonstrated awareness of the market (consumer behaviour, operational logistics, responding to low sales periods). They reflected on structural constraints such as municipality regulations and municipality accountability that affected their businesses. They were also aware of supportive organisations, like financial institutions and wholesale suppliers, and used these facilities. The ethos of *Vukuzenzele* influenced some participants in their trading practices (Amanda, interview, 2014; Nina, interview, 2014; Sofia, interview, 2014; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2014).

However, unlike their counterparts in the most enabled cluster, participants in this cluster tended to struggle with the implementation of lessons learnt from the broader socio-economic environment to enable their businesses. For example, while using the services of a financial

institution, Linomtha had difficulty assessing and managing the micro loan from Standard Bank, the amount borrowed and the interest paid. She had no record of payment terms and the amount borrowed even though the loan was only the previous year. The lack financial literacy and awareness of accurate record keeping reflects disablement. Thus, the services provided by the financial institution did not substantially enhance her business. This is in sharp contrast to the participants in the most enabled cluster, who reflected on records, on transactions, budgets, and savings in relation to financial matters, like micro lending and *stokvels* with the view of long-term sustainability of the business.

Regarding participation in socio-economic activities, there was less evidence in this cluster of participants venturing outside the community arena. Only three participants out of the 11 reflected on how they benefited from skills development training offered by an NGO outside Langa. Some actively participated in political activities and leadership roles in a traders' association (Sofia, interview, 2014; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014). The rest of the participants either tended to shy away from such involvement or engaged minimally in churches, *stokvels* and burial societies. They tended to expect support without engagement and participation in empowering activities. For example, Nina's reflections captured the idea of entitlement:

> *The government must give us money … Isn't Zuma spend the money...You see, maybe it was said that Zuma must give us that money. Zuma built his home, doing it for his children (Nina, interview, 2013).*

The spirit of entitlement from the government and external support from financial institutions show how limiting certain reflexive inclinations can be. While the most enabled participants' reflections were more inclined towards personal development and business enablement, the moderately enabled cluster leaned more towards dependency. The lack of awareness of pertinent socio-cultural support available to them acted as a drawback in getting opportunities. For example, while Khetiwe was generally astute in generating sales and she knew about the market and suppliers, she lacked knowledge about basic information about child support grants that was common knowledge among her peers. She assumed that she was ineligible for the child support grant simply because she was married and had unfounded fears of being arrested, as she thought the grant was for single mothers. Furthermore, her lack of awareness about the broader trading environment, which could have empowered her with knowledge, precluded her from fitting into the most-enabled cluster. While it is commendable that the participants in the moderately enabled cluster were attempting to respond to their constraints, they differed from the most-enabled participants in that they had not yet mastered sustained and more long-term

solutions. The limitations of reflexivity were manifest in that some participants could only tap into knowledge and experiences from the past or observations from others, but when they encountered a new challenge, they grappled to deal with it.

5.5.3 Reflecting into relationship with significant others

For participants in this cluster, social relations were as important as it was for the most enabled cluster. The distinguishing factor between them was that, unlike the most enabled cluster, the moderately enabled cluster reflected on family and community relations by placing emphasis on meeting familial obligations, sometimes at the expense of business interests. For example, while the most enabled cluster participants also valued caring for both nuclear and extended families, they managed to set clear boundaries in ways that did not compromise their businesses. In the moderately enabled cluster, most evidence showed them struggling to balance familial obligations and business interests. Amanda, for example, reflected on her decision to start a fruit–and-vegetable business:

> *I stayed the whole year without working... Then that thing stressed me. Because I am in a marriage at the same time, we are not just looking after this [city] house; we have a family home [to maintain] in Eastern Cape. Then we are looking at one salary. We need to eat. We need clothes. We need to feed my husband's father. I need to feed my parents. So, we could not rely on one salary. So, I thought about it, "What if I do something and sell something (Amanda, interview, 2014).*

The above sentiments indicate the importance of both nuclear and extended familial relations in motivating her to start her business. Admittedly, most women traders started trading businesses to help their husbands or life partners and contribute to family expenses. While the most enabled participants thought beyond familial relations in terms of business goals and operations, once the business commenced the operational decisions and goals for the moderately enabled participants tended to be distracted by constant family obligations. Amanda further reflected on her family circumstances in relation to business income:

> *Sometimes those things pull us down in the house… Also, in the rural areas, they need money. I need to take from there… I just need to make sure I have stock money… She [the niece she lives with] depends on me; she affects me because I need to buy school things. Her mother is working, but she is stingy. No, I leave it to God; he will go on to pay me back. I do not stress... They have their mother; their mother takes the [child support] grant... I do not need it. Money causes fights... At the same time, they are not going to stay with me for the rest of their lives (Amanda, interview, 2014).*

Amanda's perspective is commendable in the collective cultural context of interdependencies, but if she cannot find a good financial balance between family obligations and business investment, her business will not grow. In Amanda's case, while she had the legal right to receive the child support grant as the caregiver of her niece, she rather relinquished the income to maintain peaceful familial relations. Similarly, other participants reflected on how they felt

obliged to help extended family members financially although it weighed their businesses down (Sofia, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2013). In this cluster, there was on the whole a greater emphasis on social relations and altruism than on business development and individual aspirations.

5.6 Least enabled cluster

5.6.1 Reflections on self-efficacy

There were six participants whose reflexivity was the least enabling. Their appraisals of self-efficacy included positive statements such as being friendly, kind, having good customer service and culinary skills, being passionate about their business, independent, self-reliant and persevering amongst others (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2014). However, in this cluster it was also apparent that alongside those positive attributes there were disenabling ones including dangerous or self-destructive behaviour. For example, Phatiswa, a middle-aged hawker who sold muffins, reflected on her bravery in confronting criminals with stones:

> *Oh, there are many of them, everywhere there are criminals. I was nearly robbed.... I fought back... Yes, with my hands. They were men… Five or six. I took stones. I hold them and told them to come [daring them to come]. Then I do not know what I was gonna do if they had guns*. (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Phatiswa's self-appraisal in responding to crime in her trading and living environment were maladaptive in a context rife with crime and violence against women. In addition, there was more evidence in this cluster of pessimistic and hopeless comments about personal constraints. Participants talked about being overburdened to the point of helplessness (Constance, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). For example, responding to a question on her responses to her constraints, Victoria stated:

> *I cook very little food for my few customers. … I do not have money to stock a lot. Let me say, this year was a very bad year for me. I am sick. Now as I wake up to come here [to the stall], I also need to go to the hospital, you see. I need go and fetch my pills. I need to go for my [clinic] appointments… My plans are to get help so that I can stock the things that I need and use here. Like now, I do not have drinks. Last year, when the year ended, the fridge was empty, like now it is still empty. ….. The money I get here is not enough for the things that I need. I just get R50 per day or I can get R30 the whole day* (Victoria, interview, 2013).

While a sense of helplessness dominated comments within this cluster, there was also more evidence of these participants relying mostly on perseverance and resignation in responding to constraints as opposed to concrete problem-solving plans which was evident among the most

enabled cluster (Constance, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014).

5.6.2 Trading business in a broader socio-political and economic milieu

Reflecting on the social, economic and political milieu that they operated in, participants in the least reflexive cluster largely showed that they had an awareness of factors that influenced their trading. Notably, they demonstrated an understanding of macro-economic factors, legislative controls, municipal regulations and social services. Although participants did not use technical concepts to demonstrate their understanding of broader contextual factors in macro-economic and legislative terms, they were knowledgeable of the existence and residual impact of these macro-economic forces. They reflected on their job losses, outsourcing practices that contributed to unemployment, and increasing prices in comparison to previous years due to inflation (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). However, the knowledge and awareness did not translate into feasible and enabling ways of coping; rather, they reflected on these broader contexts with a sense of resignation and defeat compared to their counterparts in the other clusters. For example, Phatiswa had worked in several work places and lost her jobs owing to different work-related reasons. She reflected on how she felt ripped off by employment agencies that take a portion of the money earned by workers they represent

> *How can you work from Monday to Saturday, for transport? You cannot even buy shoes with the money that you work [for] because of the employment agent, Down with the agents, down with agents! It [the agency] oppressed me… let us say this bucket is the agency… I am under this bucket; I give my money to this bucket… Let us say you pay me R30 an hour for the work, the bucket is gonna give me R10 an hour and take R20. You think that is right?* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

By reflecting on the impact of broader political and economic forces influencing her employment status with feelings of disempowerment and sense of injustice, Phatiswa showed that she was knowledgeable of how those forces affected her daily life. However, despite reflecting on the exploitative nature of outsourcing agencies, she faced the dilemma of unfavourable working conditions or hawking around the streets without producing much gain (See Theron, 2010 on the connection between informalisation from above and informalisation from below). Similarly, Constance reflected on the impact of macro-economic factors on her struggling business and her children's prospects for a better life:

> *I always did this trading work; the business is on and off, but still I persevered… As the years go by things change for the business. Everything is too expensive. As the children grow up in my house, everything is expensive … Yes, I look after them and give them food. Even these children, they do not get permanent jobs. … (Constance, interview, 2014).*

Constance's reflections portray a sense of awareness of broader external factors affecting business and understanding of the environment, however, her response is limited to persevering with no clear strategic steps in response to escalating costs in a difficult economic environment. Other participants in this cluster were also aware of the impact of macro-environmental factors, such as labour-market changes, rising inflation, dwindling demand for products in the market, and financial institution obligations. They similarly struggled to respond in enabling ways. This problem was exacerbated by participants' context-specific constraints, such as being sole breadwinners in their families and scarcity of customers in the community (Pamela, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2013).

Reflexivity on social networks showed that five out of six participants in this cluster were actively involved in traders' associations, mainly to seek help and support in the form of utility services at the trading site. They sought representation in securing trading space and had expectations of financial support (Zoleka, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2013). However, reflexive comments by participants were laden with negative tones of expectation, entitlements and dependency tendencies expressed in terms such as, "there is no help that we are getting" or "the association has not given us anything yet". They lacked active agency to change circumstances (Zoleka, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). All participants were active church members. However, the role of the church was mainly for emotional and spiritual support in coping with life's problems, which only indirectly impacted on their businesses. Unlike the most-enabled cluster, participants in the least enabled cluster did not broaden their networks beyond the community to incorporate business-related networks.

5.6.3 Reflecting on relationships with significant others

Like participants in the other clusters, participants in the least enabled cluster showed their appreciation for interdependent community relations and engaged in mutual support relationships with other traders, customers and community members. They shared in social interactions as evidence of their sense of belonging and awareness of importance of cultural citizenship. Constance, for example, entertains customers in her catering shop for social chats, counselling support to stressed people, embraces everyone and generally maintains a cheerful atmosphere in her shop. Responding to a question on what helped to sustain their relationships

with friends, family and neighbours, other participants emphasised unity, peaceful cooperation, mutual support and honesty with each other (Pamela, interview, 2013 Zoleka, interview, 2014 Victoria, interview, 2013). However, when constraints associated with power threaten the harmonious relations at the trading site, there was more evidence from this cluster of retaliation or even violence as a resolving mechanism. (Victoria, interview, 2013; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014).

In addition, except for Pamela, most participants in this cluster expressed more feelings of resentment and being let down by family members, who they perceived as non-supportive. Pamela displayed some characteristics and tendencies found in the moderately enabled cluster and the most enabled participants; especially evident in her appraisals of relationships with significant others. However, because of her limited awareness and knowledge of broader trading environment and her limiting self efficacy she fell into the least enabled cluster. There was a permeating sense of victimhood coupled with negative comments about significant others. For example, in her reflections about the challenges that she experienced in her family and community Constance said:

> *I am the eldest child in my family. They do not want to listen to me, those children. ... It is irritating because sometimes I need a quiet place, especially a person like me because I get tired, I need to rest. Sometimes I do not have the time. I sleep when it suits them because they always make noise* (Constance, interview, 2014).

Compared to the other clusters, reflections about living circumstances in this cluster tended to demonstrate a greater sense of discomfort, frustration and feelings of violation. In addition, participants in this cluster struggled to set boundaries between familial relations and business goals. Like the moderately enabled cluster, participants tended to lean more towards emphasising family obligations, which interfered with their ability to pursue business interests. For example, despite struggling to generate adequate income, all participants reflected on how they took care of adult children, boyfriends and extended family members, who were supposed to work for themselves, thereby "taxing" their income and emotional wellbeing. Only in this cluster were there three reports of involving the police and applications for court interdicts in relation to significant others, like children, spouses and neighbours (Victoria, interview, 2013; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). Participants in this cluster thus experienced living circumstances more negatively from participants from other clusters. Significantly, they also lacked support from their families for trading businesses, which left participants feeling overwhelmed and overburdened by other major constraints that affected their trading.

This chapter thus showed that while all three clusters of participants had an inherent ability to reflect on self-efficacy, knowledge of the trading environment and relationships with significant others, they did so with varying degrees of enablement.

Chapter 6| Findings: Agency-Motivation

The previous chapter showed reflexivity as a crucial dimension of agency that allowed participants to subject their actions, environment and social milieu to conscious scrutiny. In this chapter, I focus on another dimension of agency, motivation. This dimension sought to explore the drives that prompted the women traders to run their businesses. The chapter contributes to answering the second sub-question: *How do women traders from Langa respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter in their trading businesses?* In discussing participants' motivations, I emphasise the extent to which the women traders' motives were orientated towards certain goals. Once again, I group the participants into clusters based on a set of criteria. I begin the chapter by defining motivation.

6.1 Motivation: Working definition

My operational definition of motivation is the internal drive or goal that prompted participants to open and continue to run their trading businesses. The women traders' motives were evident in their overarching goals for their trading businesses which are classified into five categories that emerged from the data. These were:

- meeting subsistence needs
- seeking protection and security needs
- desire for autonomy and freedom
- responding to passion and creativity
- belonging and conformity to social values

These five goals happen to correspond with five out of nine of Max-Neef's (1991) fundamental human needs: subsistence; protection; creativity, freedom and identity/belonging.

Further analysis showed that goal orientation ranged in spectrum from basic survival needs in the short-term to longer-term goals, such as seeking financial security and protection through home improvements. Based on participants' narratives and my interpretation of my participant observation notes, it appears that participants whose motivation pointed towards a longer-term orientation had more life-changing goals. Conversely, participants, whose motivational goals leaned towards short-term orientation, had goals that were potentially less transformative. In the middle cluster, there were participants whose goal orientation leaned towards medium-term

with relative potential for transformation. Evidence indicated that for motivation to yield transformation resources, availability of options, ability to formulate concrete steps, endurance and optimism when facing constraints were crucial.

6.2 Criteria used for grading levels of motivation

To the extent that participants' goals and needs drove them, they fell into different clusters of motivations. To ascertain the extent to which participants were motivated, I developed a criterion for weighting motivation by posing questions that followed from participants' main goals/needs. To what extent were participants driven by**:**

- Subsistence needs in the short-term, medium-term and long-term goal-orientation?
- Autonomy needs in ways that influenced short-term, medium-term or long-term goals?
- Security and protection needs in the short-term, medium-term or long-term?
- Creativity and Passion for their businesses and motivation from within themselves in ways that fostered short-term, medium-term and long-term goals?
- The need to balance conformity to social values and achieving short-term, medium-term and long-term personal goals?

And, lastly, to what extent did they demonstrate actual steps taken to meet set goals beyond statement of goals?

After integrating the data using the above criteria, three distinct clusters emerged with varying levels of motivation in the order of long-term orientation, medium-term orientation and shorter-term orientation commensurate with varying degrees of transformation. Figure 6.1 depicts the weighting of motivation in terms of goal orientation and life-changing capacity.

How goal orientation related to transformative capacity			
	Short-term goals	**Medium-term goals**	**Long-term goals**
Goal orientation linked to temporality	• Subsistence and focus on maintaining cash-flow	• Subsistence and focus on maintaining cash-flow • Managing constraints	• Subsistence, maintaining cash- flow and managing constraints • Home improvements • Children's tertiary education • Buying a house • Trading as a career
Motivation Effect (Transformative capacity)	Low	Medium	High

Figure 6.1. How goal orientation related to transformative capacity

Short-term goals were those that sought to meet more immediate basic survival needs, like food and clothing. Medium-term goals denoted both short-term goals and interim goals aimed at improving business operations. Examples include purchasing a vehicle in response to transport constraints, finding a trading space, maintaining cash flow and medium-term savings. Longer-term goals were associated with more life-changing goals, such as, long-term savings, giving children tertiary education and improving homes. Figure 6.1 shows that when meeting short-term needs such as survival and subsistence motivated participants, the degree of transformation[10] was likely to be lower than when they had medium-term goals and longer-term goals. Table 6.1 shows the three different clusters that emerged following criteria stated above.

6.3 Emerging clusters

Table 6.1 Resulting clusters of motivation

Most enabled cluster-long-term orientation	Moderately enabled cluster-medium-term orientation	Least enabled cluster-short-term orientation
Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nina, Nosipho, Thelma, Selethu, Zukiswa, Khetiwe, Nozuko	Amanda, Noluntu, Thobeka, Sofia, Tumeka, Asanda	Constance, Victoria, Mandisa, Pamela, Linomtha, Phatiswa, Zoleka, Nolufefe, Noxolo

[10] Transformation here refers to changes in improving wellbeing and quality of life (See Chapter 9 on transformation as a dimension of agency).

While the weighting of patterns of motivation helped to identify emerging clusters using the criteria to assess the participants' motivation, the set of criteria was a guideline, as participants did not always fit neatly into the clusters and sometimes only leaned towards a cluster category.

6.4 Longer-term orientated (most enabled) cluster

Despite the broad differences between the clusters, all participants sought to meet subsistence needs. Beyond that similarity, participants differed in the extent to which they aspired to rise above subsistence needs. Where short-term orientated cluster participants aimed to meet mere survival needs and family obligations, longer-term orientated cluster participants aspired to more long-term security and protection-orientated goals. The latter sought to develop homes, send children for tertiary education, choose trading as a career, secure educational goals and take concrete steps to generate more income and realise goals.

6.4.1 Aspirations for security and protection

In narrating goals and motives for the operation of their trading businesses, there was a strong desire for financial security. Participants orientated towards long-term goals expressed the need to secure and protect themselves from deprivations. Hence, they emphasised the need to gain employment, more money, retirement plans, secure homes and educational qualifications. Using the criteria for assessing the extent to which participants aspired to protection and security needs, it was evident that goal orientation in the long-term cluster gravitated towards achieving more than mere subsistence needs. In this cluster, participants expressed aspirations that were more visionary,strategic, personal and went beyond day-to-day survival needs. For example, Bongi expressed her drive to own her trading business as wanting to earn more money than she made for her former employer. She wanted to become self-reliant, autonomous and grow her own business. She stated:

> *Because I noticed that the money I was making [on a job] was a lot but the money I was paid was little. … It's [the goals] to raise my child, to educate her and become a person that she wants to become… It's [goals] just to extend my business. Like maybe to buy a car that will do business so that there will be another business assisting this one… Like, you see my salon is here in the location [township]. I wish it should be like those at the terminus at the taxi rank. That it should have sinks, showers … sofas, and stools* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Bongi's narrative indicates an agent who was motivated by a desire to achieve longer-term goals and aspirations. Bongi also bought a car, thus corroborating participant observation and interviews (Bongi, participant observation notes, March 2014). Beyond subsistence needs,

longer-term cluster participants sought to satisfy security and protection needs, identity and creativity needs, and they formulated clear plans for achieving the satisfaction of their needs. For instance, Doris stated how she worked on a project of renovating her rural home in addition to the house she owned in a middle-class section of Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town. By preserving the traditional family home, Doris also sought to fulfil identity needs. She stated:

> *It's [goals] building ... buying things that I need... At our family home in the Eastern Cape, I am extending, I am renovating because it is a family home... I am thinking of growing it [the business] if I can get more sheep... I can do it by selling more [sheep]* (Doris, interview, 2014).

Doris's sentiments represent longer-term focus that included working diligently to achieve goals. Selethu, Nina and Nosipho were also long-term orientated: they all worked on home improvement projects for themselves and for their children and the wider family (Selethu, interview, May 2013; Nina, interview, May 2013; Nosipho, interview, April 2013). Thus, longer-term cluster participants tended to be generative towards future security in their motives. Goal orientation on its own was not enough as a significant measure of motivation. Therefore, ascertaining complementarity of concrete plans taken and set goals was crucial. This is in line with Giddens' notion of discursive consciousness and practical consciousness whereby statement of motives should support actual goal implementation. In the above example, Doris expressed her goal of home improvement and she backed up her goal with concrete steps by operating a *spaza* shop in Khayelitsha Township alongside a braaiing business in Langa. As evidence of concrete steps taken to achieve goals, participants in the longer-term cluster tended to sell a diverse array of products and businesses, careful choice of business, exercising conscientious saving skills and budgeting and good debt management skills. Thus, motivation related to purposive action, another dimension of agency discussed in Chapter 8. Traders in this cluster demonstrated remarkable resilience, persistence and endurance in the operation of their trading businesses for more than ten years. By contrast, the shorter-term cluster vacillated between trading and jobs, resorting to trading only when they lost their jobs.

6.4.2 Motivated by the desire for autonomy

Participants in this cluster expressed a general quest for freedom from poverty and other oppressive elements. For participants in the longer-term motivation cluster, autonomy meant not only freedom to earn own income but freedom to manage own business, make autonomous decisions and being independent. Bongi's statements above echoed this sentiment when she emphasised the autonomy that self-employment brought over working for an employer. For Bongi and participants in the longer-term motivation cluster, long-term and proactive business

ownership was the main motivating factor. In addition, participants were more proactive than short-term reactive responses associated with the other clusters. Thus, empirical evidence indicated that, while all participants sought to gain autonomy and independence, the degree of emancipation sought differed in scope and scale in relation to business ownership.

6.4.3 Passion-driven

As one of the motivating factors to initiate or continue the operation of their trading businesses, all participants narrated that they were passionate about their trading enterprises and related activities. The creative unleashing of internal desire and talent thus manifested as a crucial motivating factor. For some participants, it was their passion for what they did that contributed to persistence and tenacity in the context of structural constraints and opportunities that they encountered. The extent to which participants were motivated from within themselves, were passionate and creative about their work, determined sustainability of their businesses. Being internally driven to progress was pivotal in achieving goals, whereas when participants just followed others in enterprising (externally driven), it compromised their transformative capacity. In their narratives, participants in the longer-term cluster expressed passion as connected to long-term goal orientation. For example, Nina indicating passion inclined towards a longer-term focus, stated:

> *I love doing business. I love business because I like being self-reliant. I love having my own things. I do not like depending on a person…. Even that time when I was working for that family [in a grocery shop], you see, it was a family business, but I was not enjoying it like it is mine* (Nina, interview, May 2013).

Expressed that way, passion became more than just an emotional and fleeting whim that easily disappears when confronted with constraints. It was a sustained burning desire to achieve higher things and to become someone better, to transcend the ordinary. Passion translated into viewing trading businesses as a creative enterprise. Participants often remarked, *"I love what I am doing."* However, when longer-term cluster participants used the expression, they were referring to a bigger picture of the business, not an isolated activity of the business, such as cooking, although that was important too. The difference between passion to achieve and passion to do daily tasks was in the longer-term focus, persistence and determination that came with the former type of passion. Participants who demonstrated internally driven desire to achieve also fared better than those who relied mostly on external motivation and expected others to help and solve their problems. While it was neither possible nor necessary to measure participants' passion in terms of strength, it was possible to compare narratives and observations of participants who expressed passion for business in their problem-solving

behaviours and those whose passion merely centred on tasks. Because of the desire to achieve, grow or sustain their businesses, longer-range participants tended to find innovative ways of circumventing their constraints, whereas the lower profiles tended to rely mostly on external support. Nina had a major constraint of competition from the Somalis for example. Initially she did not know how to respond to the new challenge, however, I subsequently learnt that at a later stage she sub-divided her spaza shop and let it out to another trader for additional income. Thus, she demonstrated a determination to remain in business (Nina, participant observation notes, April 2014; October 2017). Here we see that my empirically based analytical clusters are not definitive classifications, but rather participants could move over time to other clusters as they improve in the ways they exercise the various dimensions of agency (the opposite is also possible). Similarly, other participants in this profile responded to their constraints by making alternative plans to their problems through adding more trading stalls, increasing sales, adding more products, trying other types of businesses, amongst others. (Lebo, interview, May, 2013; Bongi, interview, April,2013; Doris, interview, February, 2014; Thelma, interview, September, 2013; Nosipho, interview, April, 2013; Selethu, interview; May, 2013). Passion to achieve and to grow businesses intertwined with concerted effort to set concrete steps and plans, motivation to persist in operating the businesses, and general steering of energy towards goal orientation. The relationship between motivation through passion with rationality, purposive action and transformative capacity of action is thus manifest.

6.4.4 Conformity to social values

Social values and influence from significant members were important factors from which all traders derived their motivation. Of the 25 participants, 10 traders cited family members while 15 cited friends and others in the community as motivators in operating their trading businesses. For instance, Nozuko's response to a question on what motivated her to run a chicken business typifies most participants' responses who derived business ideas from family members:

> *I saw that it was the right business because it has been long since I operated the business. Then I saw that it sells well…. From my mother [getting the idea of operating the business], she sold the chickens at first... She is the one who used to do the business. I worked with her then she retired, and I carried on* (Nozuko, interview, 2014).

In line with the social values, participants also expressed a strong sense of collective culture through conforming to social values of *ubuntu* by supporting their nuclear and extended families. Eleven participants reported living with extended family members while eight stated that they sent remittances to Eastern Cape or other Cape Town Townships to support other family members on a regular basis. Values such as diligence, self-reliance and perseverance

were common narratives linked to the practice and continuity of running businesses. Zukiswa for example, echoing the sentiments of all participants emphasised the following qualities that participants esteemed as important in running businesses:

> *It is persevering. Because if you are doing business, you can go, let us say at the end of the week, I get nix profit…. Do not say when this week did not run well you say, "I am not going to work" … You need to have faith… It's talking to customers and the way that you care for customers* (Zukiswa, interview, 2014).

The sentiments highlight values of persevering, believing in oneself and caring for existing and potential customers drawn from social values. However, whilst conformity to social values were universally shared by all participants, what was remarkable for longer-term orientated participants was their ability to conform to internalised social values in an enabling manner by balancing social goals and personal goals. Conformity to social values such as obligations to support relatives and friends for example often conflicted with personal goals. For example, participants often faced the dilemma of being charitable to friends and at the same time protect the interests of their business. Moreover, extended family members expected participants to send remittances to Eastern Cape, provide food and drinks at family gatherings, give monetary gifts to visiting in-laws and live with extended family members, mostly children in their households being responsible for all their expenses (Interviews with Lebo, 2013; Amanda, 2014; Selethu, 2013; Thobeka, 2013). These family obligations posed structural constraints in as far as they depleted participants' hard-earned income on one hand. On the other hand, participants felt compelled to conform to social and family values of upholding their cultural identity and values of *ubuntu*. Faced with the tension of which values to uphold between social obligations and personal goals of profit and income motive, participants negotiated this tension in varied ways. Selethu for example narrated how her family members expected her to pay for drinks and *braai* at family gatherings from her business, assuming that she afforded the expenses. Selethu's response to such family expectations showed how she managed to balance between social values and personal goals. On the one hand, she embraced her cultural values and identity by caring for her late sister's son who lived in her home. In addition, she paid for his expenses including circumcision rituals school costs that were as high as R30000, 00 and paid for his university education. Selethu narrated her supportive role to his nephew in an embracing tone of complying with her cultural values and identity by stating:

> *No, that is what I want to do [supporting her nephew financially]. I am not doing it because I am told. It is part of me then it is my responsibility…. You do it because you want to do it, or you have to [supporting extended families]* (Selethu, interview1, 2013).

However, when it came to family members making demands at family gatherings Selethu drew the boundary line as reflected in her sentiments that emphasised that she knew where her responsibilities start and end.

> *I know my responsibilities.... I stick to what I have to do...And I tell them that, "should I give you one beer, then my profit is going down. I tell you that in 12 beers I am only earning* [the value of] *two beers, so should I give you one, and then I have lost one already. Are you here to destroy me or to support me*? (Selethu, Interview, 2013).

Clearly, in her motives to comply with social values, Selethu managed to balance her motives in such a way that she did not compromise her cultural identity, which was an important part of her wellbeing. She accepted roles and responsibilities that she deemed reasonable and rejected those she deemed unreasonable. This however does not to suggest that participants in the longer-term cluster found the balancing of motives easier. Some participants in the longer-term cluster negotiated conflicted motives as an ongoing learning process. Situations involving in-laws were particularly challenging. On the one hand, they felt compelled to conform to cultural values of being a good daughter in law by acquiescing to the in-laws. On the other hand, acquiescing to the demands compromised personal motives and goals. Lebo who identified as a longer-term motivation cluster found herself in that situation. Because her husband gave her R5000, 00 to start a take-away business. Lebo found herself in a situation whereby her in-laws made unreasonable demands of monetary gifts from her business. Choosing between personal motives and goals for profit making and income generation and pleasing the in-laws, Lebo chose the latter only to experience internal conflict and dissatisfaction.

> *It [the idea of submitting to in-laws' demands] fulfils, it does not fulfil nicely in my heart because I spent my profit on his family. Because I want them to love me, you see... Yes, I buy love with my own money... And they have this thing that even from the things that I am selling I must give them money because I got it from their child when I started the business* (Lebo, interview, 2013).

Lebo's sentiments demonstrate how participants sometimes grapple with balancing their motives between personal goals and social values. Despite achieving other long-term goals like long-term savings (three years and more) rewriting her Matric, balancing social and personal motives was challenging. Because she persevered in achieving her longer-term goals, she fit into the longer-term orientated cluster.Lebo was newly married and felt a sense of indebtedness to the family because the husband was a police officer and she was a trader. It was evident from the data that other context-specific factors like age, personal experience, family setting and individual personality shaped participants' motives. This shows the complexity of the process of negotiating motives between internal motives and external pressure.

6.5 Medium-term orientated (moderately enabled) cluster

Participants in this cluster occupy the middle part spectrum of the motivation continuum based on the above criteria. In considering categories of motivation stated above namely; security and protection, autonomy (freedom), passion (creativity) and social values (identity). Participants in this cluster differed slightly from those above in their focus. While they attempted to move beyond subsistence needs, their security and protection needs were restricted to interim plans for servicing the trading business and maintaining cash flow than growing businesses. Interim goals included stocking, finding trading space, annual savings, purchasing vehicle for stocking and circumventing constraints than long-term business expansion. Autonomy for participants in this cluster gravitated towards self-reliance in generating supplementary income for themselves than making major independent business decisions. Narratives about passion drives and sense of creativity were usually narrower in scope. They were limited to specific tasks like cooking in contrast to broader business scheme of the longer-term orientated cluster. Lastly, while they were motivated by social values and influences, as a cluster, they struggled to balance own personal goals and social obligations.

6.5.1 Aspirations for financial security and protection

While medium-term orientated participants were not merely satisfied with providing for sustenance, their goal orientation in terms of security and protection revolved around ensuring cash flow and finding ways of maintaining the business to help run the household and did not stretch to more strategic and growth-orieted goals. As long as participants met cash flow for basics and other consumables, they sustained their sense of security. Inevitably, their narratives seldom incorporated long-range plans about investments in the future although they lived and planned beyond daily needs unlike the shorter-term cluster. Their narratives were devoid of life-changing aspirations and projects like home ownership and improvements, personal development through education and skills development, tertiary education for children as in the longer-term cluster. As an example of aspirations that were above subsistence level but limited in scope, Amanda who fell in the medium-term cluster narrated her motivation and goal orientation as follows:

> *Yah because staying at home did not do anything for me. I sleep, get up, cook, eat, I go on to sleep in the afternoon and go on to wake up, but I stress then I imagined and I think, "Hey, what if my husband loses his job? What if he abandons me? What will I do?" So that's why I thought of starting a business ….* (Amanda, interview1, 2014)

Amanda sought to secure income and assurance of protection for the future in the inadvertent event of her husband losing a job or abandoning her by opening a fruit and vegetable business. Undoubtedly, Amanda like participants in the medium-term cluster planned and supplemented family income to ensure financial security and protection, the difference between her aspirations and those of the longer-term cluster participants was that hers focused on subsistence and household maintenance. Similarly, Noluntu's motivation for opening a *spaza* shop did not go much beyond providing for subsistence and protection needs. She stated:

> *Apparently, for me to think that I must have my own business, it is because .... I didn't need to ask for money for certain things..... whatever I want to buy whether I want to buy shoes whether I want to buy a dress I need to buy with my own money" ..... Yes, apparently my goal is that for the business* [*spaza* shop] *to grow I need to stock more so that it is full here* (Noluntu, interview, 2013).

From Noluntu's statements, it is evident that her goal orientation revolved around providing for what she wanted and maintaining the cash flow of her business. This indicates that her needs were above subsistence but were still not long term aspirational needs and not life-changing. Although she stated a goal of growing her *spaza* shop business, there was no evidence of concrete steps taken to ensure the achievement of the goal. Similarly, five other participants in the medium-term cluster demonstrated an inclination towards limited goal orientation. This included sustaining cash flow for running households, servicing and responding to trading-related concerns like finding trading space, finding transport for stocking and purchasing decisions (Amanda, view interview, 2014; Asanda, interviewiew1, 2013; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Sofia, interview, 2014 and Tumeka, interview 2, 2014).

Micro-managing businesses with no clear forecast into the future was thus characteristic of motives in this cluster. Protection from deprivation and destitution was central to their goal orientation. Participants tended to set goals by simply stating them with no clear plans. For example, responding to a question about steps taken to achieve her goal of buying a car she needed for stocking, Thobeka responded by saying:

> *My goal is to buy a car. .... I wilI use the car to move my things or else if I want to go to a place I would need a person to drive me and take me to that place. Like I want my business to grow because if I have a car I can do business in another place.... I have not started nix. I have not taken any steps yet. I just think about it but I want to do it but there is no money to buy the things that I want (Thobeka, interview, 2013).*

While Thobeka had goals of buying a vehicle and growing her business, the lack of concrete steps was unlikely to lead her to achieve her goals. In some cases, participants in this cluster demonstrated ability to set operational goals but not strategic goals. Such goals had potential for transformation particularly when backed by concrete steps as in Tumeka's case who stated

her goals as follows:

> *I plan to buy a car, I hire a car every time neh, when I go to stock for my things. So at least I plan that I have my things have my own car that will transport me to the market when I go to buy and bring me back. So that my stall is always on top … and move forward* (Tumeka, interview, 2014).

Her concrete steps were as follows:

> *It is saving. I have my savings, an everyday stokvel that I joined, and I have a weekend one. So that money that I saved when it is at the end of the year, then I can see that I have made so much a year* (Tumeka, interview1, 2014).

Evidently, Tumeka had clear, realistic and concrete steps in place to achieve her set goals. Her goals were however in the medium term and operational in nature they were not transformative yet but had great potential for transformation once she started operationalizing them. To sustain a sense of security and protection she first had to deal with the daily operational constraints of her business that limited her chances for higher aspirations.

6.5.2 Motivated by the desire for autonomy

Unlike participants in the longer-term cluster who narrated their sense of autonomy in terms of independent ownership and decision making in own businesses, participants in the medium-term cluster emphasised self-reliance and financial independence from husbands and employers. Women in this cluster expressed that before operating trading businesses, they felt captive to the idea of depending on significant others for money. Thus diminishing their sense of autonomy. The women sought emancipation by operating trading businesses. Elaborating on her motives for initiating the *spaza* business, Noluntu expressed:

> *Yes, my idea for having my own money and making my own money…. because when I want something I do not want to ask from a person. I do not want to ask from him and say, "I want a certain thing now". He [husband] gave me apparently but I thought, "I am not satisfied with the money that he gave me"…..... I see, "hey I have asked for a certain amount of money for something I saw in the shop"... but I tell myself, "no, the person will get tired it's better that I do something so that I don't always ask from people"* (Noluntu, interview, 2013).

Noluntu aspired to be self-reliant and desired autonomy. This stood in opposition to longer-term cluster participants who set aspirations went beyond owning money but rather owning businesses. Participants also sought independence from begging employers for money. Thobeka expressed her motivation in terms of seeking autonomy from the employers as follows:

> *Seven Eleven* [shop*] did not have money…. the money did not last long. I stopped and found work in the kitchen in Claremont; even there the money was not there. You see if you need something and you tell your employer that you need money for such and such, she would tell you, "I don't have it" … I left on my own, because I wanted to try a business. I told that employer that I would try a business if it is not successful, I will come back.... But I told myself that I was not going to come back* (Thobeka, interview1, 2013).

While Thobeka exercised agency by leaving her previous jobs, which paid less to initiate her own trading business, evidence from participant observation pointed out that despite the long-standing nature of her business for more than 20 years and her saving in *stokvels*, her aspirations were limited to day provisions, running household expenses and supporting extended families. Although she wanted a *bakkie* to help her with stocking, she had no concrete steps in place to enable achievement of her goal. She did not maintain and repair her trading stall, utensils and appliances that were in gross disrepair (Thobeka, participant observation notes, 2013).

6.5.3 Passion-driven motives

Of the six participants in the medium-term cluster, only Sofia who operated a bakery and confectionery business and Amanda who ran a fruit and vegetable vending business referred to passion in responding to a question of motivation and goal orientation. Other participants emphasised customers, family and money as motivating factors. (Amanda, interview, 2014; Asanda, interviewiew1, 2013; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Sofia, interview, 2014 and Tumeka, interview 2, 2014). Sofia emphasised the importance of loving what she did in the business, it was evident to notice that she referred to the tasks rather than the larger business frame. Sofia captured this notion of sustained passion in the following way:

> *Because it is my passion. I love what I am doing… I like to bake and to cook that is my passion…. Because when you do things out of love, everything will taste good. Because you do not just do for money, you also love what you are doing because if you do not love what you are doing you get tired….* (Sofia, interview, 2014).

By foregrounding love for what she did over just doing for money, Sofia plausibly highlights that a business devoid of passion, soon wanes out, as mechanical operation was inadequate. The evidence on motivation in relation to passionate drive showed those medium-term orientated participants' narratives to be devoid of either passion statements or tending to focus only on activities done in the business. Granted, Sofia was self motivated and took great delight in what she did like the most enabled participants. In terms of clustering, she could have located in the most enabled cluster, however, the focus of her passion did not go beyond the immediate tasks to the broader frame of the business, and it was inadequate in confronting the complex and constraining nature of informal business in South African townships. Being passionate about cooking while commendable was unlikely to help participants deal with other aspects of the business such as credit management, promoting merchandise in low-peak season, finding trading space, managing transport for business and shrewd purchasing practices amongst other things. It was evident that when participants' narratives about their passion were directed

towards the business in its entirety, participants were better able to manage their businesses, deal with constraints and tap into resources and opportunities as in the longer-term cluster. When conducting participant observation, I noticed that participants in this cluster struggled to negotiate the above constraints probably because of lack of passion towards the businesses as they seldom mentioned it.

6.5.4 Balancing social values, personal goals and aspirations

When assessing the extent to which participants balanced their cultural identity needs and aspirations to meet personal goals, it was clear from the data that participants differed in the ways they negotiated these competing tensions. While participants in the medium-term cluster drew on significant others' ideas of running trading businesses and social values, which motivated them, for example, to "provide for one's own", they tended to lack the strong sense of business ownership and goal orientation that the longer-term cluster possessed. As a result, participants in this cluster struggled to balance cultural-value goals and personal goals. The limited self-motivation was also evident in their lack of long-range goal orientation beyond what friends, family and community members would have encouraged them (Noluntu, participant observation notes, 2013, fieldwork journal). Thus, while conformity to social values was a motivating factor in operating trading business, it was necessary for participants to move beyond social values and develop a sense of ownership of the business, and be more self-motivated than merely influenced by others externally.

6.6 Short-term orientated (least enabled) cluster

Motivation among the short-term orientated cluster was the least enabling according to the criteria. Participants in the short-term orientated cluster operated their trading businesses by focussing merely on subsistence needs. Their aspiration for protection and security were limited to more immediate survival needs. Three participants in this cluster used the narrative of passion and creativity in their businesses in relation to tasks rather than overall business, thereby reinforcing their short-term orientation. Autonomy among short-term orientated participants, like medium-term-orientated participants, tended to be expressed as freedom to generate their own income and not having to depend on others. This sense of autonomy, though progressive, lacked the long-range focus of autonomy in owning the means of generating money emphasised by the long-term orientated participants. Women traders in the short term orientated cluster reported social values influencing them positively, however, when

confronted with social pressure to conform they struggled to prioritise their business interests and personal goals over social obligations.

6.6.1 Aspirations for security and protection

Subsistence and survival needs characterised narratives about motivation for starting up businesses. Some participants in this profile used trading to alleviate transient poverty. It was not surprising that the women in this cluster often stated that they wished to go back to formal employment. Hence, they vacillated between trading and contract work as cleaners, or domestic and factory workers (Phatiswa, participant observation notes, 2013, fieldwork journal; Linomtha, fieldwork journal, 2013, Constance, fieldwork journal, 2014). These participants demonstrated that they did not invest in trading as long-term ventures, but intermittently. Their motivation for trading was uni-dimensional, focusing mostly on money. It was common for women traders in this profile to say that their primary motivation was to provide food for their families after the business had been operating considerable time. Nolufefe, for example, had operated her business for more than 20 years, yet she expressed that her goal was survival:

> *I do it [run the business] to feed the stomach… I do not have goals for cars and other things… If I stay at home, what will I eat? Knowing that I will be able to cook something hot at home that is what motivates me* (Nolufefe, interview 2, 2014).

Clearly, when setting goals, Nolufefe did not envision any long-term aspirations for protection and financial security beyond providing for immediate her family's survival needs. Similarly, eight other participants in this cluster constructed their goal-orientation narrative around subsistence needs that included food, paying for bills, such as electricity, clothes and children's school fees (Pamela, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview1, 2013; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Noxolo, interview 2, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014).

When participants in this cluster responded to a question of what goals they had set for themselves in operating their businesses, they responded by stating goals devoid of concrete steps and plans, vaguely goals or goals and steps that were incongruent. For example, when stating her goal for financial security and protection, Constance, who has been operating a trading business for over 20 years, stated that she aspired to have enough money to retire:

> *I want to have money, then after some time, I must retire from this, having some money to look after me… I must sit down; think about how can I have money so that I can't retire by the time it comes. I must sit down, draw and think what I must do* (Constance, interview 2, 2014).

Because it lacked clear and concrete steps, Constance's goal was less likely to be achievable and enabling. During participant observation, I noticed that her business was slow. She did not

make enough profit to enable her to saving regularly (Participant observation, 2014, fieldwork journal). Similarly, Phatiswa sold muffins by hawking on the streets of Langa and barely made enough money to feed her family. She stated her goal was to open a bakery. While having a bakery was a highly commendable long-term goal to aspire towards for a trader who had baking skills, her plan for achieving the goal was entirely dependent on external support:

> *The steps I need to follow [to reach the goals], I cannot do because of the money we depend on at home… But the thing that needs to happen is that if only my boyfriend can work and help me or if I can have a person who can boost me... and buy me all my ingredients in boxes… and put them here. Then I will be able to do it for myself…* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Evidently, when it came to aspirations for meeting subsistence, protection and financial security needs, goal orientation for short-term planners lacked ability to set clear and concrete steps, and plans. There was a tendency to over-depend on others for goal achievement. In some cases, participants just did not have the ability to connect their goal orientation to respective steps and plans. Pamela, who ran a barbecuing business for more than twenty years in the same street, stated her goal of wanting to grow her business as follows:

> *My goals are for my business to grow. I need to have the right place to trade… just a neat and nice place, which…even when a person is just passing by can think, "Hey, that place, I think I should get into it because it looks nice." ... I'd like a built place that is nice* (Pamela, interview, 2014).

When she did articulate steps, Pamela linked goal attainment to complying with municipal regulations in order to qualify for state support, which suggests dependency.

> *The thing that I need to do is to go and get a permit. After the permit, I need to go get a licence for the business so that my business is registered. So that maybe they will assist me after that* (Pamela, interview, 2014).

Thus, the link between Pamela's goal orientation as motivating her trading was not congruent to the relevant steps needed.

6.6.2 Motivated by the desire for autonomy

Six out of nine participants in the short-term goal-orientated cluster talked about being motivated by prospects of increased independence. (Constance interview 2, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2013; Phatiswa,interview,2013; Noxolo, interview,2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). However, where the long-term counterparts saw autonomy as business ownership and medium-term counterparts emphasised self-reliance and financial independence, participants in this cluster referred to autonomy as "not wanting to be depend". Linomtha, for example, explained why not being financially depend on lovers or spouses was important in life.

> *You need to start to be independent because in the homes that we live, marriages end. You get divorced or a boyfriend leaves you, if you have a boyfriend… Do not depend on a boyfriend or a husband if you are married. (Linomtha, interview, 2013).*

Linomtha clearly valued autonomy, however, her sense of independence was ultimately not life changing as it was focused on money rather than the developing her business. Instead, long-term orientated counterparts planned to own the means of generating money, which was more transformative than merely wanting more money. Oftentimes participants in the short-term orientated cluster used the language of last resort, lack of better opportunities or "not having any other choice", in the face of unemployment, to explain their underlying motivation for becoming street traders. Zoleka's sentiments captured this well:

> *The thing that motivates me is that there is nothing else except the money from this meat* (Zoleka, interview, 2014).

This begins to explain the lack of investment in their businesses for long-term autonomy by participants in this cluster. If something better came along they would probably abandon street trading.

Expounding on the notion of "having no choice" in the context of constraints and limited opportunities, Giddens (1984:15) argues that social actors still have capacity to make decisions and act. In this instance, the short-term orientated participants demonstrate some agency because they intervened in their circumstances - albeit with limited transformational results.

6.6.3 Passion-driven motives

Three of the nine participants in this cluster were motivated by passion in initiating and running their trading businesses. Constance said:

> *I love cooking. I love being independent too… I never did anything else* (Constance, interview, 2014).

Constance's narrative of passion was task-focused and not entirely centred on her catering business. Her passion for cooking certainly motivated her, but her lack of a business sense constrained her ability to address her most pressing problem of low peak season sales. Similarly, Phatiswa expressed her creative baking in passionate terms:

> *It is mine [the idea of baking] because I can bake. [Each and every] time I am staying at home... when I am not working, I don't just sit and do nothing …, I can also bake pies, but [those] pies [are] going to be very expensive and people in this area don't want to pay. I can cook, but people do not want to part with money, you see. Because there is a woman here who asked me to make pies. I said to her that she must buy her own things with her own money because I do not have the money to buy things for making pies* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Phatiswa's case is a good example of the inadequacies of task-orientated passion. Undoubtedly, she knew how to bake. However, she did not have money to buy the required ingredients for

her customers and therefore lost the business. Passion and creative skills that are tied to one function (e.g. cooking or baking) within a business is simply not enough grow the business. Thus, passion needs to have a much broader goal orientation that includes the business angle to be significant. Participants in this cluster appeared to perceive passion either as insignificant or relevant to certain tasks while neglecting the bigger picture of the business and how it needs to run to succeed.

6.6.4 Balancing social values against personal goals and aspirations

Social values and family or community role models influenced participants in positive ways. By observing others, participants garnered ideas about running trading business. For example, Zoleka talked about how observing others' successes in trading motivated her to persist when constraints threaten her business:

> *As a person you need to persevere and when you see your neighbour improving her life you tell yourself, you also want to be like her. You need to be strong and tell yourself, "let me go stand there"* [at the trading stall] …. *When I see my neighbour taking plastic bags of meat. I should also tell myself, "Let me also take out more meat [to sell]" … I sell it and finish that is it*. (Zoleka, interview, 2014).

Social values of perseverance, endurance and modelling positive behaviours were common among participants in all clusters. However, it was important to use the criteria to weight motivation in relation to social values by assessing the extent to which participants' balanced conformity to internalised social values and achieving personal goals. This was necessary to evaluate the degree of enablement that emanated from relying on cultural values, bearing in mind the structural constraints caused by the same social and cultural constraints discussed in Chapter four. Of the nine participants in this cluster, seven narrated difficulties or obligations posed by extended family members, which they struggled to balance against business imperatives (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2013; Pamela, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview 2, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). Conforming to values of *ubuntu* by caring for extended families enhanced the wellbeing of participants and fostered their sense of cultural identity. The problem, however, arose when participants were so overwhelmed by family responsibilities that they neglected their personal goals. In other cases, some women reported feeling stuck and powerless in abusive relationships because they conformed to cultural values that prioritise family preservation at the expense of personal growth and safety (Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview; 2013). This stood in sharp contrast to their longer-term orientated counterparts who managed to balance or work around the tension between social commitments/obligations and personal goals, particularly when relationships

interfered with their personal wellbeing (Selethu, interview, 2013; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Noluntu, interview, 2013; Zukiswa, interview, 2014). Constance, for example, reported struggling to provide for children, including adult children, in her family home which she shared with siblings and their children:

> *Children grow up within the home, then everything is more expensive, then things are not the same as before. Those kids are my sister's; most of those kids do not belong to me…. Yes, I look after them and give them food* (Constance, interview, 2014).

In this case, Constance's desire to conform to social values by providing for extended family conflicted with her personal goal of generating sufficient income and planning for her retirement. In addition, while Constance worked hard to provide for a large extended family, the family did not help her with housework. She depleted her own financial resources further by paying for help, yet there were people in her household that could have assisted but did not. In this case family was non-supportive and disabling.

However, there was some evidence that five participants deviated from the general pattern in this cluster and were assertive in dealing with social values that interfered with personal goals. They sought recourse and intervention through the legal system, mediation, left abusive relationships, made firm decisions and set boundaries concerning relationships that interfered with their wellbeing (Phatiswa, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). In this respect they behaved more like those in the other two more enabled clusters. Because their motivation was life changing only in relation to conformity to social values but lacked autonomy, passion, security and protection goals they fit better in the short-term orientated cluster. Deviations in the micro detail show that the clusters are not neat and exhaustive, but are guidelines for grouping and organising participants' behavioural tendencies and patterns.

This chapter focused on motivation as a dimension of agency and on themes in the data that best described as goal orientation towards meeting subsistence needs, providing for financial security and protection needs, seeking autonomy, being driven by passion and conforming to social values and influences. Three clusters emerged according to their degree of goal orientation, i.e. long-term, medium-term or short-term orientation.

Chapter 7| Findings- Rationality

This chapter presents my findings on rationality, the third of the five dimensions of agency. The chapter focuses on how participants reasoned and made decisions in relation to their enterprises. I begin with a working definition of rationality and facets of rationality that emerged from the data. Afterwards, I present a classification of rationality gradations based on criteria that emerged inductively from the data. Lastly, I describe how participants exercised rationality in their gradational clusters.

7.1 Rationality: working definition and facets

My operational definition for rationality points to how participants expressed their reasoning and thinking behind decisions made about trading businesses in the context of social relationships, community life and the market.

Empirically, there was a clear connection between reflexivity, motivation, rationality and purposive actions as dimensions of agency. Rationality provided modes of reasoning in decision-making processes as mechanisms through which participants realise or fail to realise their motivational goals and subsequent actions. Three facets of rationality emerged from the data: (1) horizons in relation to envisaging the future of the enterprises, (2) calculative and problem-solving strategies and (3) collective thinking in working with others.

7.2 Criteria for assessing different grades of rationality

To ascertain the degree of rationality manifested among participants, I developed the following criteria based on my reading of the data, theoretical framework, operational definition and second sub-question:

- To what extent did participants' horizons of thinking stretch in relation to the operations of their business? This criterion sought to assess the extent to which participants visualised, planned and operated their enterprises.
- To what extent did they demonstrate calculative thinking in relation to problem solving when faced with opportunities, constraints and decision-making? This pertained to the thinking and coping mechanisms that promoted successful and sustainable operations of the business.

- To what extent was their thinking inspired by forms of collectivism that enhanced their businesses? This criterion assessed the degree to which participants engaged in thinking that honoured relationships with significant others without compromising their business sustainability and wellbeing.

7.3 In-depth description of each cluster

To the extent that participants demonstrated reasoning inspired by calculative thinking in decision-making and problem-solving, open-mindedness and positive thinking and balancing between collective and individual interests, participants fell into one of the following clusters, most enabling rationality, moderately enabling rationality and least enabling rationality. Once again, participants did not always fit neatly into their assigned clusters but rather, they showed more evidence of the characteristics of a certain cluster based on the above criteria. Table 7.1 below demonstrates the clusters that individual participants fell into in relation to rationality.

Table 7.1. Clustering of participants according to rationality criteria

Most enabled	Moderately enabled	Least enabled
Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nosipho, Nozuko, Selethu, Nina, Khetiwe, Thelma,	Amanda, Noluntu, Zukiswa, Tumeka, Sofia, Thobeka, Mandisa,	Constance, Phatiswa, Linomtha, Nolufefe, Noxolo, Pamela, Zoleka, Victoria, Asanda

7.4 Most enabled cluster

Horizons of thinking for participants in the most enabled rationality cluster pertained mostly to how participants envisaged the future of their trading enterprises, resulting in some participants being strategic, far-sighted in their visions and aiming for more long-term return on investments. Participants were more calculative in problem-solving decisions and strategies. They had positive perceptions about their own ability to succeed in a volatile trading environment. In conceiving of their social milieu in the form of family, community members, fellow traders, and social values that guided these relationships, most enabled participants gravitated towards a balanced collaborative and collective thinking.

7.4.1 Horizons of thinking

Strategic thinking guided participants in this cluster, thus they demonstrated long-range thinking with evidence of operational strategies geared towards the future of the enterprise in enabling ways. These participants reasoned along the lines of delayed gratification with an

expected higher return on investment in the long term. They differed in reasoning and approach from the moderately and least enabled clusters, whose foresight restricted operational strategies to a narrower scope of managing symptoms of problems rather than viewing enterprises as expanding more capabilities and wellbeing outcomes. Participants demonstrated long-range entrepreneurial reasoning that prioritised business interests and profit maximisation over other pursuits. They intended extending the scale and spectrum of their current enterprises at the time of the trading by creating additional businesses. Examples were adding school transport business to a hair dressing salon, opening own butchery in addition to the braaiing restaurant, *shebeen* combined with braai business, and other long-range career plans (Bongi, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017). Forecasting about the long-range plan of her business, Bongi stated:

> *No, it is just to extend my business. Like, maybe to buy a car that will do business so that there will be another business assisting this existing business [hairdressing salon] …Even if it is an Avanza [a people carrier vehicle] … to carry schoolchildren… Like, you see, my salon is here in the location [township]. I wish it should be like those at the terminus at the taxi rank. That it should have sinks and showers… That it has sofas and stools* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Bongi demonstrated strategic thinking by envisaging the future of her business beyond what it was. She like her cluster peers aspired to be like the more established better equipped businesses in the community. This shows that immediate social structures and societal norms and values shaped their rational thinking and overall agency. While participants in this cluster expressed long-range goals, they were not merely dreaming. Their long-range entrepreneurial thinking was backed by operational strategies. These fed into their established goals to influence realisation. Thus, the interconnection of reflexivity, rationality, motivation and purposive action as dimensions of agency is evident. When participants formulated goals, they reflected their thinking and reasoning in the broader scheme of running their enterprises.

7.4.2 Calculative and problem-solving strategies

Operational strategies were characterised by calculative thinking demonstrated through industriousness, market-orientated thinking, resourcefulness, diligence and selling a variety of products. Participants had a long enterprising record and drew on that experience to demonstrate good planning and organising skills. It was common for participants in this cluster to state their strategies influenced by profit maximising options in the economic sense of rationality as reflected below:

> *…it is the right [good quality] things that will make me make a profit Yes, good stock that attract people… that tastes nice whether it is expensive or not… So that I make a profit. When you buy in bulk,*

> *they have discounts sometimes so it is good for the business and for the profit. … You price your items differently for you to gain* (Lebo, interview, 2013).

Profit-orientated thinking and operational strategies that guided purchasing decisions, selling a variety of products and selling stock to increase sales all linked to strategic entrepreneurial thinking and strengthened enablement. The long-term thinking was demonstrated by their ability to delay gratification to achieve longer term goal, and higher return on investment through weekly savings that extended from one to three years (Lebo, interview, 2013; Nina, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Doris, interview, 2014). In addition, while some products were limited to the locale customers, such as fruit and vegetables, other products sold by participants in this cluster like braai meat, chickens and hairdressing attracted customers from outside Langa thereby increasing sales. Braaiing businesses, for example, got orders from big companies for special occasion functions. Thus, the rationale behind the entrepreneurial thinking was the distinguishing factor between the clusters. Similarly, innovativeness, reflected in creativity and responsive strategies to constraints, distinguished most enabling rationality from less enabling one. For example, participants demonstrated problem-solving abilities, navigated constraints and optimised opportunities in creative ways that set their rationality apart from the lesser enabled participants.

Arguably, in the context of trading environment fraught with more constraints than opportunities, the mind is the battlefield where participants either won or lost their battle against poverty. Participants in this cluster certainly felt discouraged at times like their counterparts in the other clusters. However, those who exercised the most enabling rationality tended to reason more positively in the way they responded to business challenges. For example, Nosipho's optimistic reasoning is demonstrated below in the face of low sales and competition:

> *So, you tell yourself, "No man, people will come." You see. If people buy elsewhere, do not get angry and say, "People should only buy from me." … Do not be jealous of customers buying from there, even yours will come… Most of the things I take them easy…* (Nosipho, interview, 2013).

Nosipho's reasoning noticeably contrasted with the more pessimistic outlook characteristic of the least enabled participants.

Open-mindedness is another feature of this cluster. The degree to which the women traders were open to new ideas influenced their businesses. Some participants followed established traditional ways of doing business while others, mostly in this cluster, were open to new ways of operating. Participants in this cluster were more inclined to use trendy marketing promotions

and engage in network marketing with, for example, Avon cosmetics and Forever medicinal products (Bongi, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Lebo, interview, 2013). These participants reasoned that if they responded favourably to market opportunities, even if there was some risk involved, they could increase their income. Some innovative ways of doing business included delivering meat to customers at an additional charge and marketing products on WhatsApp (Bongi, interview, 2013, Nozuko, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017).

7.4.3 Collectivistic thinking

Central to some women traders' mental foci was the way they constructed self-perceptions in relation to others "as part of an interdependent system" similar to that postulated by Potgieter (1998). Interdependent mutual exchanges are a feature of human relations within communalistic societies. Participants' thinking ranged in spectrum from individualistic to collectivist thinking. Participants who were more individualistic showed signs of being self-absorbed and struggled to include significant others in decision making. Collectivistic thinkers saw value in others' inspirations and collaborative effort. The crux of this criterion was assessing costs and gains in relation to how collectivist and individualistic thinking influenced enablement. Among the most enabling cluster there was a tendency to balance collective interests and business interests among. Most participants in this cluster were able to build more mutually supportive relationships while setting clear boundaries when conflict arose with other traders and significant others in the family and community (Nosipho, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nozuko, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013). For example, in an interview with Selethu, she described how she assisted two young women who were her *shebeen* customers to start their own *shebeen* business. She taught them to trade and supplied them with cigarettes and wine at discounted prices and on credit terms. Thus, Selethu demonstrated collectivistic thinking instead of feeling threatened by the young women who were starting a similar trading business nearby. Selethu was enabled by a sense of wellbeing linked to transmitting knowledge and skills to a younger generation and fellow community members rather than being motivated by merely material benefit from her relationship with the novices. She captured her collectivistic outlook in the passage below:

> *You need to network with the people. Don't just say no [to the opportunity]. That's why I said to them [the two women that she helped start a business], "Don't think I am rich. I am not rich. I am just trying to show you where I am coming from". So, when I told them where I am coming from they could not believe me. … So, it's like, don't forget where you are coming from. Knowing very well where you are going to and where you are now* (Selethu, interview, 2013).

Nonetheless, women traders in the most enabling cluster tended to selectively reflect collectivistic reasoning when their profit making was at stake. For example, belonging and actively participating in church is an important aspect of the moral and social fabric in Langa for most middle-aged women, but when choosing between social activities like attending mid-week or Sunday church services that clashed with operating of their trading businesses, most participants in this cluster prioritised their businesses. Doris rationalised her decision thus:

> *I have the desire [to go to church] but I do not have a chance because of my customers. I must work hard. They [church members] will understand… I work for God There is no work, which is not God's. I need to pay for bills. How will I pay for the bills? I cannot pay if I go to church. I will end up with not cent at the end of the day* (Doris, interview, 2014).

By rationalising that her trading was also God's work, and that she would end up with no money if she went to church when she could be trading, Doris reasoned that she was better off prioritizing her business. Other important social activities in the cultural and social milieu of the participants included attending weddings. Five out of nine participants in this cluster reasoned that attending regular social/cultural events interfered with their trading and opted to send family members to represent them at social functions thereby balancing profit making and social relations (Selethu, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview 2014). The other four participants prioritized socio-cultural wellbeing outcomes (Nosipho, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013 Bongi, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017). There was no evidence that participants who were active in church or other socio-cultural activities fared significantly worse than those who prioritized their businesses. They seemed to manage their weekly timetable differently. It would be convenient if there was a formula for enablement, but this is not the case. What is evident is that participants made deliberate decisions weighing up costs and benefits in relation to business and socio-cultural needs.

While there was a general tendency for most enabled participants to demonstrate some form of collectivistic thinking, there was an exception to this norm. Khetiwe demonstrated astute strategic entrepreneurial thinking and positive-mindedness. At the braaiing stands, she had the most customers and generated more money compared to other traders by slaughtering about 10 sheep per weekend, whereas others slaughtered three to five sheep. However, compared to her more collectivistic orientated peers in this cluster, she demonstrated the highly individualistic thinking characteristic of the least enabled cluster and this tended to isolate her. While observing Khetiwe during participant observation at her braaiing site that she shared with two other participants involved in my study, I noticed her poor interpersonal relations, which she and Doris corroborated in in-depth interviews. Responding to a question that explored

relationships with others, she did not provide the typical response which referred to reciprocation, support and respect. Khetiwe reasoned:

> *"Why must you make other people happy?" [I explained that I did not mean happy, but working together with others.] She added, "If you are running your business, why must you relate to your neighbours?" She reasoned, "I don't go to them [fellow traders] and to anyone, I just do my business and then go home" (Khetiwe, interview, December 2017).*

Khetiwe's deviation from her cluster peers on this aspect illustrates that even if participants cluster, they do not always replicate in every respect all the cluster features. Her business was doing well and she was prepared to forfeit certain social wellbeing outcomes.

7.5 Moderately enabled cluster

The moderately enabling rationality cluster demonstrated middle-range visionary scope, whereby the horizon of thinking was limited to medium-term focus on return on investments to meet mostly ongoing business operational and maintenance needs. Regarding problem-solving strategies and decisions, while participants were positive in their approach, they tended not to incorporate calculative and innovative thinking in response to opportunities and constraints. Participants in this cluster gravitated towards collectivistic thinking. However, they tended to sacrifice their business interests in favour of collective interests.

7.5.1 Horizons of thinking

Considering the criteria of assessing the extent to which participants demonstrated strategic and entrepreneurial thinking, moderately enabled rationality ranked in the middle spectrum. The distinguishing factor from the rising stars above is that they grew and expanded, whereas with the middle cluster, entrepreneurial ideas and strategies were still work in progress. The rationale for their actions was to improve, rather than expand, their operations. In this cluster, participants demonstrated an ability to delay gratification to get higher returns on investment, beyond subsistence needs. However, their savings were limited to yearly returns on investments as opposed to the top-notch cluster that extended to three or more years. Because the logic behind reasoning was to fix some pressing problems, the routine of trading activities focused on the medium-term followed by other short, interim goals in an ongoing process. Amanda illustrates how rationality, motivation and purposive action can be linked to demonstrate medium-term thinking. When Amanda initiated her fruit-and-vegetable business, her short-term goal was to generate income after losing her job. This goal developed into other interim goals, such as moving to her own trading stall, as she was operating in Nina's *spaza*

shop, and shifting her type of business from fruit-and-vegetable to catering. She also had long-term personal goals to improve her education by rewriting Matric to improve on her grades.

The thinking behind her routine activities focused on weekly savings that fed into monthly savings used to maintain and improve her business. She had not yet transformed her life as in the most enabled cluster. (Amanda, interview, March 2014). Thus, there was evidence of her attempting to broaden her horizons of thinking beyond her current constraints. However, her scope of thinking was limited and focused on interim goals. Like her peers in this cluster, Amanda was progressing towards more long-term, strategic, and entrepreneurial horizons. She and her peers in this cluster demonstrated medium-term thinking by delaying gratification through maintaining yearly savings for targeted interim business projects. For example, Noluntu explained her rationale for starting *spaza* business and overcoming obstacles such as not having trading site and a trading stall of her own:

> *I saw this [vacant] place and I thought I want a spaza shop… I bought a [shipping] container for R15 000. It is mine. I saved the whole year* for it (Noluntu, interview, 2013).

Like her peers in this cluster, her horizon of strategic thinking and planning was enterprising and enabling, but it was somewhat limited, Noluntu did not forecast the expansion of her business beyond supplying the same amount and type of stock.

7.5.2 Calculative and problem-solving strategies

When considering the criteria of problem solving and calculative thinking in decision-making among the moderately enabled participants, I found that, unlike the most enabled rationality cluster, which was more positive and open to innovative ideas, the moderately enabled cluster showed more positive thinking than innovativeness. For example, some traders, on realising that their businesses were not selling fast would change their type of businesses (Thobeka, interview, June 2013). Similarly, when she opened her new mini-bakery, Sofia was the only one of all the participants in the study who promoted her business in the neighbourhood by printing pamphlets (Sofia, interview, April 2014). Evidently, there was a considerable degree of open-mindedness based on the rationale of increasing sales and profit maximisation. While they made use of market opportunities to enable their business, when compared to the most enabled cluster, most of the participants in the moderately enabled cluster were more reactive than proactive, waiting for opportunities, such as free deliveries of supplies to their doorsteps. Conversely, the most enabled cluster sought out opportunities by proactively going to the suppliers for their stock to seek out promotions and discounts and choosing supplies themselves

rather than having suppliers deliver stock selected in their absence. Business sales and income in this cluster were generally lower than their counterparts in the most enabled cluster who tended to also have bigger shops. Their businesses ranged from fruit-and-vegetable vending, small-scale catering and tuckshops (Noluntu, Tumeka, Thobeka, Amanda, Sofia, & Thelma: fieldwork journal). While women traders in this cluster demonstrated calculative and enterprising thinking in the way they maintained profit levels and savings, purchased quality products and adequately stocked and supplied to customers they were not inclined to exploit modern technology, consult newspapers for sales and bargains or use trendy marketing strategies, due to their traditional approach to business. They purposefully relied on traditional cultural values and skills gained from culturally trained gender roles to promote their businesses. For example, Thobeka highlighted how her traditional gendered upbringing had influenced her choice of business:

> *Have you ever seen a man preparing casings [offal]? Men are not quick in this business. We grew up doing silly things that women do… Some men are shy to do certain things. Like some men do not know how to sell; they prefer to work [in a job]. Women can braai meat, cook offal, you see… make fire… A man cannot do that* (Thobeka, interview, 2013).

Granted, Thobeka was very entrepreneurial in her thinking by drawing on traditional gender roles, like cooking offal, which she served with most of her dishes. However, the scope of her problem-solving and decision-making strategies was limited by focusing on traditional cuisine and approaches of doing business. To realise her goals of buying a vehicle and add more businesses, she needed to broaden her thinking, capture a wider market, incorporate new businesses ideas, widen product choice and customer base and promote business, as practiced by most enabled cluster participants. Hence, in terms of enablement, her rationale was limited. Like participants in the least enabled cluster, participants in this cluster responded to a question about what they do when business was slow, thus: "*There is nothing that I do.*" In relation to taking risks, there was a tendency to avoid risk mainly because of fear of indebtedness emanating from less income generated and managing loans. Generally, they exhibited more positive thinking than their counterparts in the least enabled cluster about the longevity of their businesses. However, they tended to lack the innovativeness of the most enabled cluster. Despite the challenges of trading as a hawker, Tumeka demonstrated confidence in the sustainability of her business:

> *The first thing is to persevere. The second one is to convince yourself that what you want you will get. The third one, as I said, if a person took an apple, I tell myself, "That person is not going to make me broke because of R2, I am still going to succeed through carrying on with the trade. I will get more money." Nothing else stresses me* (Tumeka, interview, 2014).

Positive thinking and a can-do attitude was evident in this cluster and the most enabled cluster in face of difficulties and constraints. The difference lay in the degree of strategic thinking, open-mindedness and calculative thinking that influenced their responses.

7.5.3 Collectivistic thinking

Collectivistic thinking manifested in the moderately enabled cluster when participants grappled to balance interdependent relationships and profit-orientated entrepreneurial thinking. While collectivistic thinking helped participants to sustain social relationships and their sense of *ubuntu* (human interdependency), there was a fine line between it being a positive feature of their lives and interfering with their business imperatives. The extent to which participants engaged in balancing the two was crucial in determining the clusters and extent of enablement. Women in this cluster, like those in the most enabled cluster, tended to adopt collectivistic reasoning: acknowledging and reinforcing significant others who supported and inspired them in the form of social capital. Expressions of valuing relationships, inspiration and support of neighbours, families, life partners and husbands were common (Noluntu, interview, 2013; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Sofia, interview, 2014). However, when some participants in this cluster had to choose between prioritizing entrepreneurial and collectivistic imperatives, they tended to lean towards the latter. While there was nothing wrong, in principle, with their choice of reasoning and decision-making, the issue is how these decisions impact their businesses. For example, Tumeka reasoned that small amounts of unretrieval credit given customers she knew and cared about was unimportant because of their social bond. This reasoning had a cumulative and far-reaching consequences for her business. In contrast, Sofia, also in this cluster, reasoned that their needed to be a clear distinction between business and family on the question of credit.

> *With the clothing business, I found difficulties from the family because family members want to borrow. They want to take things on credit; they come back and want to take because business does not mix with family, because your own children will always disturb you. They must know that it is a business. They must buy. No matter how much you charge them.* (Sofia, interview, 2014).

From Sofia's example, it is noteworthy that although she is classified in the moderately enabled cluster, her balance of business interests and family relations display tendencies similar to most enabled cluster. The limiting factor for her, in relation to rationality, was her horizons of thinking which was less strategic and calculated than the most enabled cluster; hence her placement in the moderately enabled cluster. On the topic of the tension between collectivistic thinking versus entrepreneurial thinking, some participants in this cluster managed to set firm

distinctive boundaries, others found it difficult to treat family and friends as customers who had to pay cash like everyone else. The former tended to serve the business and the latter undermined it.

7.6 Least enabled cluster

The least enabling cluster was characterised by a "near-sighted" horizon of thinking with participants' visions shaped by a narrower scope and seeking short-term returns on investment to satisfy immediate needs. They were mostly positive thinking about their businesses. Compared the other two more enabling clusters, the participants in this cluster had a more traditional entrepreneurial lens; they were less innovative; they struggled more to balance collectivistic and business thinking and, they showed signs of more individualistic thinking as demonstrated below.

7.6.1 Horizons of thinking

In the least enabled cluster, I ascertained that the rationale for operating businesses was mainly short-term orientated. The thinking behind returns for investment was immediate; to cater only for subsistence needs. For example, there was a tendency to run informal trading businesses to relieve transient poverty or as a substitute for lost jobs. The scope of their businesses was usually very small compared to other traders doing similar business such as fruit-and-vegetable vending and selling chicken selling, African cuisine catering businesses and flea market. It was common for participants in this cluster to combine trading with informal and domestic jobs or to close their businesses periodically to pursue temporary casual employment. (Linomtha, Phatiswa, Noxolo, Constance, Victoria, Mandisa, Zoleka, Pamela, Fieldwork Journal 2014).

The scope of entrepreneurship in this cluster was characterised by a proclivity towards day-by-day planning and organisation of trading activities, whereas their more enabled counterparts made plans, decisions and organised activities weeks, months or years ahead. Because of the short-term perception of return on investment, participants purchased stock and supplies from retail shops at a higher mark-up, thus reducing profit, whereas the more enabled participants' purchasing decisions were profit-orientated: from wholesalers and farms at discounted prices. There was no evidence of conscientious savings as long-term plans were absent. Rather, the small profit made catered for day-by-day stock for continuity of business. The customer base was limited to those in surrounding streets because of the scope of products sold. By contrast, the most enabled cluster had a broader customer base extending to other suburbs and townships where participants drove for products like braai, off layer chickens (perceived by customers as

free-range) and hairdressing salons. The extent of participants' vision of their enterprises influenced their implementation strategies, scope of business, choice of products and market. In this regard, rationality directly influences other dimensions of agency, namely purposive action and subsequent transformation. Responding to a question about savings plans, Nolufefe, who operated a flea market, demonstrated being driven by immediate needs.

> *I do not like the* stokvel, *which keeps money in the bank, and when you want to use the money, you have problems. Yes, if I want it now, I want it now to solve my problem now* (Nolufefe, interview 2, 2014).

Her short-term thinking dictated her decisions about savings and investments. Income generated was for hand-to-mouth survival. Similarly, perceptions of micro-loans for participants in this cluster were such that they were hesitant to get loans because of fear of indebtedness and inability to service them. Pamela, for example, expressed her perceptions about getting micro-loans:

> *I have never tried [to borrow money from the bank]. I am afraid. Yes, because the business [small braaiing business] that we do supports itself... I do not like things to do with money… I go and borrow from other people from my family* (Pamela, interview, 2014).

Avoiding unnecessary debt is rational, but on the other hand, without financial assistance Pamela's business will remain extremely small. Pamela's horizon of thinking remained small-scale because she was afraid to take financial risks- even manageable ones. By way of contrast, the most enabled cluster participants used savings or loans to grow their businesses. Avoiding micro-loans out of fear or ignorance is disenabling.

7.6.2 Calculative and problem-solving strategies

In addition to the criteria of strategic and entrepreneurial thinking, it was also necessary to ascertain the extent to which participants' mind-sets were open to new ideas. This pertained to the thinking that guided coping mechanisms that promoted successful and sustainable businesses. It was evident from the data that all participants faced similar constraints in the operation of their businesses, such as bad debts, periodic low sales and low cash flows and transport problems. All the participants, including the least enabling cluster, demonstrated positive thinking about their businesses by stressing that they persevered hopeful of better things to come. For example, Linomtha expressed her positive approach to her business in relation constraining low cash flow.

> *I was happy that I was selling different things, like potatoes, cabbages, but the sun does not set before no one buys. That is why I say even if it's one rand it is something…. The people will come, but the business will be slow.... I do not go to bed without eating or not having even a R5 in my pocket… It is not the same as having no sales totally* (Linomtha, interview, April 2013).

Linomtha, like her peers in this cluster, reflected her positive thinking, using expressions such as "perseverance", "endurance", "not giving up", amongst others. They were certain that no matter how constraining the trading environment was, they would get something out for their enterprising efforts (Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2014; Noxolo,interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2013; Asanda, interview, 2013). However, while they had incredible tenacity, they differed from their most enablement counterparts in their mental preparedness to embrace new or innovative ideas in responding to their constraints and opportunities. Talking about how she dealt with low sales, Noxolo said:

> *You will not stop looking for money even if it is quiet. You will persevere in business [although] …you will change nothing* (Noxolo, interview, 2014).

While Noxolo's sense of perseverance is critically important in all businesses, she lacked innovative ideas to circumvent her business constraints. As reflected above, her rationale was that of accepting the bare minimum to survive. Her reasoning is not defeatist, but imaginative thinking is absent.

Central to rationality is the notion of discursive consciousness and practical consciousness that (Giddens,1984:6) asserts. Discursive consciousness refers to reasons for behaviour offered verbally; practical consciousness applies to what actors do. Importantly, reasons for behaviour are subject to manipulation and normative commitments do not often motivate human behaviour. With this in mind, I noticed discrepancies between what respondents said in in-depth interviews and what I saw in my participant observations. For example, the reported reasons for behaviour offered by Phatiswa were not corroborated by what I observed in her behaviour. She described her service as customer-centred.

> *I still go with that rule which says a customer is always right… Even though sometimes you can see that person is being silly … I can handle it because I smile, chat to people… because you need this money you need to be humble* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Seemingly, Phatiswa had her priorities right and responded well to customer needs. However, observing her at work I noticed contrary to her claims she was quite aggressive towards "difficult" customers. What some participants in the study said in interviews was not necessarily what they practiced. They sometimes adopted defensive behaviour to hide inadequacies and anxieties about their trading practices. Furthermore, Phatiswa's example reveals that when participants responded to constraints in less enabling ways it was not always because of lack of knowledge, but rather, engaged in defence mechanisms by rationalising their

behaviour.

7.6.3 Collectivistic thinking and some deviations

I found that all participants in this cluster demonstrated collectivistic thinking in relation to acknowledging family or friends' influences and support in establishing their businesses. Thus, they treasured significant others who shaped who they had become and emphasised collectivistic values of ubuntu such as respect, kindness, being friendly and supportive to each other and customers. However, in this cluster there was also evidence of disenabling tendencies that influenced their decision-making in relation to others. These can best be described as inconsistent individualistic tendencies in their thinking and their inability to balance social obligations and the demands of their businesses. I noticed that these disenabling elements were more evident in this cluster than in the other two more enabling clusters.

For instance, when exploring the women's current trading decision-making practices in relation to family members, three participants showed tendencies like their more enabled counterparts by incorporating significant others in important decision-making processes (Pamela, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2013). However, six out of nine participants in the least enabled cluster emphasised individual decision-making and mistrust of family members (Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Constance, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013). It was common in this cluster to hear statements indicating excluding others in decision making with family members such as: "*I don't decide my business with anyone in my family. I tell them and my word is final*" (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Undoubtedly, these statements portray a sense of independent decision-making; after all, the women own their own businesses. However, it is important to understand the rationale behind business decision-making in the context in which these trading practices took place. In both the broader township setting and family settings, significant others were part of the trading context. Participants in the most enabled cluster acknowledged the support derived from significant others, including children, and consulted them in decision-making relating to family budgets and trading activities. Conversely, participants in this cluster tended to insist on excluding others even when they contributed to the business operations.

Evidence from the data indicated that those participants, who enjoyed positive and supportive family relations and included them in decision-making, fared better than those that had difficult family relations and excluded them from decision-making. Nolufefe's story is illustrative.

Nolufefe, who had a strife-ridden relationship with her unemployed husband due to his alcohol addiction, derived minimal support from him. While she allowed him to assist her by running errands and purchasing supplies, she did not involve him in financial decisions and she had to bear the burden of doing most trading activities in addition to household tasks. She explained her thinking on the matter:

> *No, I do my own things… I will not take my money and give it to him… He can ask for it and I will not tell him [where it is]. No, I cannot do that. I always buy food so that we eat. I buy school things when there are things required at the school. My husband asks me for liquor money all the time* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

By contrast, Pamela explained how she and her late husband would make joint financial decisions based on a respectful more traditional relationship:

> *When my husband was still alive, we agreed on what we talked about. I did not have my own bank [account]. There was one bank, the father's [husband]. We worked together. When he came from his jobs, he would put down [his wages] and I would put mine down. We would combine the money. We talked about what we needed to do. I never had money problems. No, I did not have decisions that I took by myself… We never fought. So now, if we disagreed, we would solve it in the home and not let it go outside…* (Pamela, interview, 2014)

Because she enjoyed a collaborative relationship with her late husband, financial decision-making in her household was based more on consensus than strive as in Nolufefe's case In this regard, structures, such as families, can be constraining or enabling, (Giddens, 1984).

With few exceptions, the women in this cluster tended to make autonomous business decisions. They also complained about a lack of support from dependent family members. Five of the nine participants in this cluster reported feeling overwhelmed by taking care of extended family, who did not help with the trading business (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Constance, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013). These women were autofocus decision-makers but they were weighed down by an acute sense of social obligation. It appeared that the difficult familial circumstances of most participants in this cluster, precluded them from involving family members in decision making. They struggled to balance their assumed social responsibilities and business interests. This reasoning tended to compromise the success and sustainability of the business.

Rather than capitalize on social networks, they felt burdened and disempowered by family. This attitude and mind-set extended to their fellow traders and community members. There was a general tendency in this cluster to mistrust others in the community. Participants in the least enabling cluster reported feelings of alienation, victimisation and hostility (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Asanda, interview,

2013). For example, when asked about stressful situations and emotional problems, participants in this cluster tended to emphasise coping strategies that excluded others. They slept, took a walk, waited for the problem to subside, and tried to forget the problem (Constance, interview, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2013; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2014). Nolufefe clearly stated her mistrust of sharing problems with others:

> *When I have a thing that worries me … I do not tell a friend or neighbour because I do not know what she will do with that thing… I deal with it from within and it stays with me. I cannot tell anyone because they may l laugh at me. I cannot even tell my husband, because of his drinking he will talk to others about that thing…* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

This contrasted with the participants in the more enabled clusters who generally emphasised getting emotional support from church, using humour with others, talking to others, or praying.

I now want to briefly discuss factors other than rationality or reasoning that influenced participants' behaviours.

7.7 Other mediating factors

While both Giddens (1984:5) and Sen (2002:4) emphasise rationality as critically important in explaining behaviour, in my study other factors not linked to rationality, such as emotionality, spirituality and personality, also influenced the behaviour of participants.

Participants relied on their emotions to cope with their life stressors. For example, three participants – two (Lebo, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2014) from the most enabled rationality cluster and one (Linomtha, interview, 2014) from the least enabled – adopted crying as a coping strategy to relieve stress caused by their problems. Lebo explained;

> *I am off on Sunday and go to church... It helps me because I go there and relieve stress. I do not have a sister to share my problems. So, I often share them in church. That I must pray a lot and cry a lot … When I am praying … You just talk to your God so no one listens to you, yes.* (Lebo, interview, 2013).

Giddens connects an agent's behaviour to rationality, but neglects emotionality, which is equally important in understanding agency. Crying can also be linked to Lebo's agency, but it not grounded in reasoning. Numerous participants also emphasised spirituality in both the Christian sense and as African traditional beliefs in the problem-solving behaviours they adopted.

All participants in the study also presented unique personality traits that influenced their trading businesses in varying ways. Participant observations and interviews revealed personality traits

that include being helpful, peaceful, determined, independent, caring, assertive, self-reliant, respectable, diligent, fearless and strong, amongst others.

Thus, rationality *alone* cannot explain the reasons that participants engaged in certain behaviours or made decisions. Personality, emotionality and spirituality also influenced social action although I do delve further into these aspects here.

The chapter focused on how the most, moderate and least enabled clusters demonstrated rationality in varied ways in relation to horizons of thinking, strategic and calculative thinking as well as collaborative and collective thinking. Rationality, as a dimension of agency, is crucial for reasoning and decision making related to their trading enterprises and social relations.

Chapter 8| Findings: Agency-Purposive Action

This chapter focuses on purposive action as a dimension of agency. I start with my working definition, followed by a description of the facets of purposive action that emerged from the data inductively. I move on to discuss the criteria that I developed to assess the degree of enablement induced by participants' facets of actions concerning business sustainability and their wellbeing. Lastly, I present the clusters of participants that emerged according to degrees of enablement of actions.

8.1 Purposive Action: Working definition and facets

I use the term "purposive action" to refer to participants' deeds aimed at changing their life circumstances. These include promoting trading businesses, navigating constraints, optimising on opportunities and relating to significant others. I also consider unintended consequences of purposive action. Purposive action manifests empirically in the form of business, family and community-orientated actions. Business-orientated actions were those that fostered both business sustainability and enabled general wellbeing, cumulatively enhancing the business. Certain actions also limited business sustainability and diminished participants' wellbeing. Business-orientated actions related to operations and strategies, interpersonal relations with customers and fellow traders, financial management and networks that enhanced their businesses. Family and community-orientated actions included managing community and family interrelationships, striking a balance between family/community-orientated actions and business sustainability. Family- and community-orientated actions affected business sustainability and, ultimately, it's potential to improve participants' wellbeing.

The objective of my inquiry was to ascertain the extent to which the actions facilitated both positive and negative change. Unintended consequences of actions pertained to inadvertent outcomes of actions. Figure 8.1 below depicts these facets in a schematic form. For example, proactive business operation strategies were actions that enhanced the business, such as selling a variety of products to generate more sales, managing interpersonal relationship and managing finances. Examples of disenabling actions were actions that limited business sustainability, such as failure to promote business, not keeping credit records or fighting with customers. These actions also affected wellbeing; for example, when a trader failed to generate sales this

resulted in her failure to meet goals or needs. Managing community and family-orientated actions incorporated engaging in altruistic practices and other self-improvement projects.

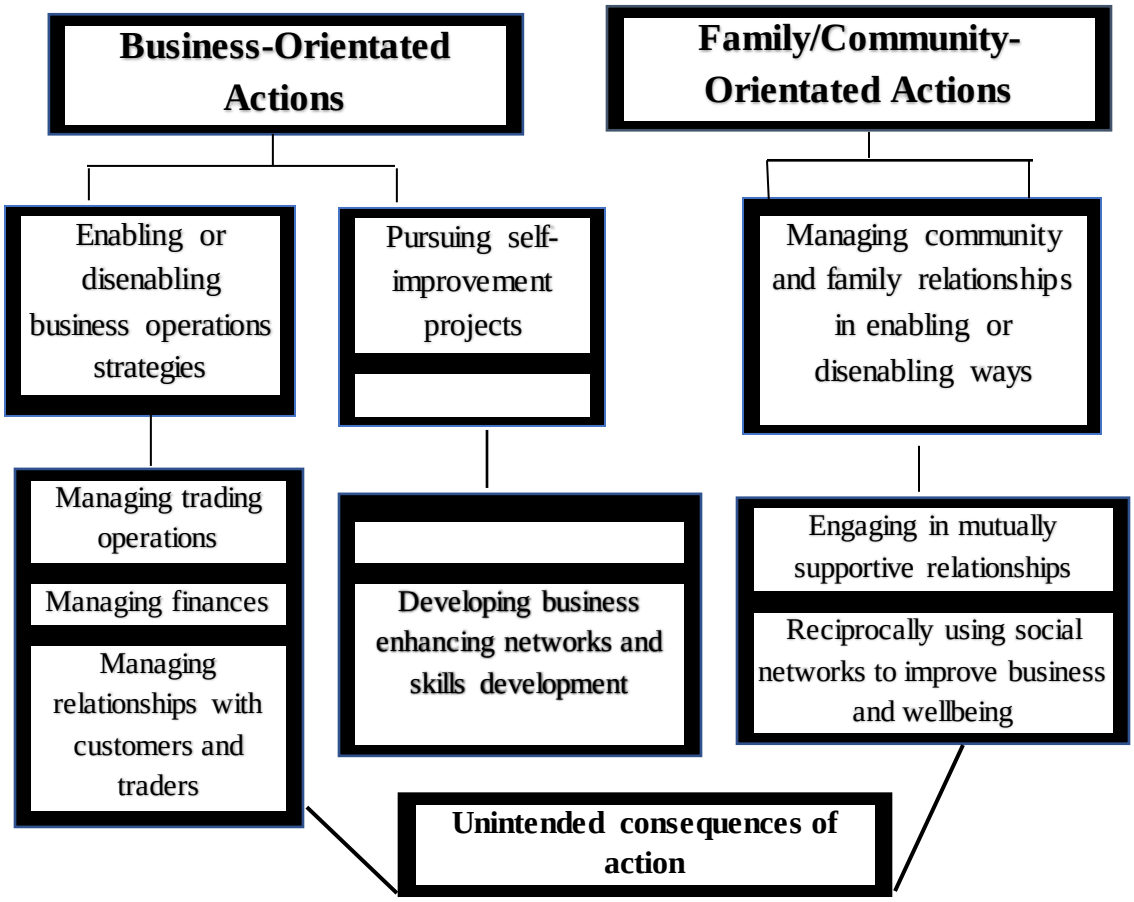


Figure 8.1 Data-driven themes and facets of actions

8.2 Criteria development

I developed criteria to weight the degree of enablement in the participants' actions in relation to business sustainability and general wellbeing. To ascertain the degree of enablement, I posed the following questions:

- To what extent did the participants' business-orientated actions enable the sustainability of business?
- To what extent did the participants' business-orientated actions enable participants' wellbeing?
- To what extent did participants manage to strike a balance between family- and community-orientated actions, on one hand, and business-orientated actions, on the other, in ways that promoted business sustainability?

Based on the above criteria, three clusters of actions were noteworthy, namely most enabling actions, moderately enabling actions and least enabling actions. In the analysis of actions, I

aimed to identify actions that could potentially lead to change. Table 8.1 below shows the participants and their respective clusters.

Table 8.1 Clustering of participants according to purposive action criteria

Emerging clusters based on purposive actions		
Most Enabling Cluster	**Moderately Enabling Cluster**	**Least Enabling Cluster**
Bongi, Doris, Nosipho, Nozuko, Selethu, Nina, Khetiwe, Victoria, Zukiswa, Thelma	Amanda, Noluntu, Tumeka Sofia, Thobeka, Mandisa	Constance, Linomtha, Phatiswa, Nolufefe, Noxolo, Pamela, Zoleka, Victoria, Asanda

8.3 Most enabled cluster

Participants in the most enabling cluster demonstrated business-orientated actions with most evidence supporting business sustainability and less evidence of disenabling actions undermining business sustainability**.** The more participants engaged in tried-and-tested strategies of operating their businesses, the more their actions were likely to be enabling. Examples of these strategies include selling a variety of products to increase income, promoting business, purposively choosing feasible types of business, profitable purchasing and selling strategies. Good financial management related to obtaining and then servicing loans, maintaining regular savings, credit management and engaging in life-improvement projects, such as business skills training and forming networks that enhanced their businesses.

Family- and community-orientated actions related to efforts made to build social networks and social capital by participating in community organisations, such as community committees, traders' associations and churches, amongst others, in ways that potentially enhanced their businesses and, ultimately, their wellbeing. Participants drew from collectivistic thinking and African cultural values of honouring relationships whilst valuing the success of individual businesses and welfare. Despite endeavouring to engage in actions that fostered business sustainability and personal wellbeing, there was some evidence disenabling actions. For example, like all the other participants in the study, they placed insufficient emphasis on having a booking keeping system except for a list of debts for collection. Hence, clustering participants according to the criteria of enablement depended more on the degree of enabling actions and less on one or two disenabling actions that could be adapted to enhance enablement. Invariably, in this cluster there was a pattern of participants possessing the most enabling characteristics

8.3.1 Business-orientated actions: managing trading operations

In this cluster, participants had more established business operations strategies due to prior work experience directly related to their current trading. Eight participants of nine reported that they had spent considerable time working in places, such as grocery shops, fast-food take-away shops, family businesses and other selling jobs (Bongi, interview,2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Nina, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017). Prior working experience and knowledge also influenced the choice of businesses and products that generated more sales in the township. In addition, they applied the relevant skills gained from previous work such as managing businesses, customer service, managing finances and relationships with other traders in ways that enhanced their businesses. Therefore, participants in this cluster excelled in take-away shops, braaiing businesses, hairdressing salons, cosmetics businesses and operating *shebeens*. (Lebo, Khetiwe, Bongi, Selethu, fieldwork journal). Prior working experience at two take-away places, for example, equipped Lebo with technical expertise in making *amagwinya* that appealed to customers. Relevant business operations included bulk buying of ingredients from wholesalers rather than retailers. Purchasing decisions included comparing different prices of stock from community newspapers like *Vukani* and *City Visions* for discounts and other promotions. Only participants in this cluster researched about marketing and promotions in the media (Lebo, interview, 2013; Bongi, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013). Selethu for example reported how purchasing meat directly from the butchers benefitted her business rather than waiting for the butchers to deliver:

> *I prefer to go by myself…. there is N1 Meat, there is PB, Atlantic Meat, and Gold, there is Score in Philippi for the pork… I always want to be hands-on. I do not want someone to do this buying for me. I want to be there and see it for myself. ... Sometimes you go there you know the [price] of the brisket is R40 a kilo. But when you go there you find out that the brisket is on special, maybe it's R30, R29, 99, and they are not gonna give you at that R29,99 [when they deliver] because you are not there. They will give you the normal price* (Selethu, interview, 2013).

By purposively choosing to go directly to the butchers, Selethu sought to gain added advantages, like reduced costs, to maximise her profits. Selling different products was another strategy that sustained participants in this cluster's businesses. Bongi, for example, emphasised how selling different types of products in addition to hairdressing enhanced her business:

> *You must buy products that sell faster than others do. I sell other things like shoes, perfumes and Avon Products so these always sell fast* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Diversifying products provided more income that participants tapped into for other cash flow requirements. In this cluster, participants operated more than one business to increase their income. For example, Doris ran a home-based *spaza* shop in Khayelitsha where she lived in addition to the lamb chops business in Langa. Selethu operated a braaiing business in addition to a *shebeen*. Nina had both a *spaza* shop and a*magwinya* business. Khetiwe ran a braaiing business in Langa and Delft townships. Central to social actions, Giddens (1984:282) alludes to the notion of routinised practices by stating that, "in the enactment of routines, agents sustain a sense of ontological security". Routinised engagement in day-to-day activities gave traders a sense of purpose and fulfilment in life and a realisation that they were contributing something of value to society. The degree and effectiveness of organising the routine determined the sustainability of trading businesses. Characteristic of this cluster was the skilled coordination of activities and resources with diligence and thriftiness. For example, Nozuko operated an open-market chicken butchery business at the taxi rank that she coordinated better than other traders did. Below is an excerpt from my fieldwork notes on her operations.

> *Located very conspicuously for easy accessibility to customers, the trading stall set-up resembled a miniature chicken factory with a chain of coordinated activities and division of labour. These included buying 100 chickens weekdays and 300-400 on weekends from nearby Brown Farm to Langa using public transport to cut costs (Other participants at the site sold 10-20 chickens). At Langa, terminus activities include slaughtering, plucking, cleaning and displaying the chickens on the sales counter ready for selling followed by packaging and cutting the whole chicken into pieces. She sold offal like livers, gizzards, casings and chicken feet to avoid wasting. Nozuko bought and transported live chickens and supervised selling, [and] customer service of her five assistants who performed the rest of the above activities. Nozuko gave special promotions to loyal, regular and bulky buyers who bought about 60 chickens for own businesses* (Nozuko, fieldwork journal, Mpofu-Mketwa, 2014).

Nozuko's example indicates that, compared to other traders, who sold alongside her, she coordinated her trading activities in ways that increased sales by employing assistants to get more work done, choosing a product in demand, having strong work ethic, minimal losses by cutting costs and selling every consumable part of the chicken. Thus, she aimed for profit maximisation within the limited bounds of township informal trading.

8.3.2 Business-orientated actions: managing finances

Because they created a broad income base through their choice and diversity of products, as well as additional businesses, this enabled financial management and maintenance of regular savings, as reported by Nina:

> *I saved the money that I was getting from the sales… If I get maybe R200, I would put away R50. So, I saved in that way until my money was R3 000… We carried on doing like that…. We got the shipping container for R5 000 that time… How will I succeed? I will succeed by keeping money; by saving in the bank* (Nina, interview, 2013).

All participants in this cluster saved weekly in *stokvels* and savings accounts, culminating into monthly, yearly and up to three-year savings. However, while they were knowledgeable about financial services and made conscious decisions about getting loans by weighing up the risks, the other two clusters refrained from applying for loans due to a fear of indebtedness. Managing finances in trading businesses also included lending to customers on credit and debt-management practices. While some participants, like Bongi, Lebo, Nozuko and Nosipho, elected to operate on cash-only terms, others, like Zukiswa, Doris, Khetiwe and Selethu who sold meat and braai, lent to their regular customers exercising discretion. Participants, who sold on credit, also managed to follow up debtors with varying degrees of success.

8.3.3 Business-orientated actions: developing skills and networks

It was also crucial to assess participants' engagement in life-improvement projects and building networks that enhanced businesses. Seven participants from this cluster reported engagement with networks beyond traders' associations and churches. They reported attending business skills development training, financial support through micro-lending organisations and built formal and informal customer networks that enhanced their businesses (Bongi, interview, April. 2013; Doris, interview, February, 2014; Lebo, interview, May, 2013; Selethu, interview, May, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, December, 2017; Nozuko, interview, July, 2014; Zukiswa, interview, April, 2014). For example, Bongi was a secretary of the Langa Business Forum and she participated in various other organisations, such as Housing Project and a political party, and attended skills development training. She stated how she benefited from attending skills development courses offered by a private organisation in Cape Town:

> *At Business Bridge. They teach skills... how to get customers and how to avoid losing customers… Yes, it helped me very much because when you learn things there, you applied the things you learnt.… [At] places like SAPRO, SETA and TDI, I learnt about things I did not know. I thought these places were for people with big businesses. I did not know that even people with small businesses could go to such places* (Bongi, interview, 2013).

Thus, there was a general pattern that the most enabled participants were outward-looking in seeking opportunities compared to the other two clusters who tended to be inward-looking.

8.3.4 Business orientated actions: managing relationships with customers and traders

Responses to competition and low sales in their businesses were a crucial aspect of trading. In the most enabled cluster, participants went the extra mile to maintain customer relations. They provided soups to customers in winter, maintained cleanliness and gave extras, including credit, to regular and bulk buyers (Bongi, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nosipho, interview,

2013; Nozuko, interview, , 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Nina, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017). They performed these actions purposively to sustain their businesses. Sometimes traders worked collaboratively at trading sites by sharing utensils, tents for shelter, packaging material and, sometimes, assistants. However, the collaborative work, though enabling to their businesses, had unintended consequences such as power struggles relating to conflict over assistants' loyalty and mixing of orders. Nevertheless, traders depended on each other to save their money through *stokvels*, sharing trading spaces, knowledge, and information, and motivating one another.

8.3.5 Family and community orientated actions

Family- and community-orientated actions were crucial in the study in as far as participants could engage in mutually supportive relationships. Striking a balance between family/community obligations and business imperatives while using social networks to promote business was pivotal to business success. Participants in this cluster tended to report about positive familial relations, which also enhanced their businesses and wellbeing. Nina summed up the sentiments of most participants in this cluster:

> *My husband and agreed to keep the money then we got the shipping container for R5000,00 that time…. I love my family. We always communicate, when we meet, we have a nice time...We make lunch and we all eat and have a good time (Nina, interview, 2013).*

Participant observations corroborated these positive sentiments. I observed Nina and four other participants. Interactions with her husband and children in their *spaza* shop, where they occasionally met during and after trading hours, were characterised by respect, warmth, collaboration in decision-making and support for the business (Nosipho, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Bongi, interview, 2013). This is not to say participants in this cluster enjoyed conflict-free marital and familial relationships, but rather, their responses to these challenges demonstrated more enabling behaviour. For example, despite the support that Lebo's husband gave her with start-up capital to run a take-away shop and assisting her with transport to buy supplies sometimes, Lebo reported that he did not support her by paying for household expenses. Sometimes she had to pay his debts. Her husband was often jealous and insecure because of the money that she made and contributed. Importantly, Lebo narrated her strategic response to the situation:

> *Ok, sometimes I make a lot of money, more than him [husband] and that becomes a bad thing. … So sometimes he thinks that I am undermining him on other things, you see, since he has less money, or his money comes once every month. He [the husband] gets angry/sulks... So you need to cajole him now, like, "This is our money." Yes, I talk to him and make him see … and say, "Since this month, I had this*

> *amount of money; it doesn't mean I am above you. Business goes on and off. I will make less money and you will have more money"* (Lebo, interview, 2013).

Like other participants in this cluster, Lebo used her negotiation skills and conciliatory tactics to promote good relations within her family, thus acting purposively. The four other participants in this cluster - Zukiswa, Doris, Selethu and Nozuko - reported enjoying positive supportive relationships with family members they lived. Because these women ran female-headed households, their conflicts were less than their married counterparts.

The participants in this cluster distinguished themselves from the others by setting clearer boundaries in terms of sending remittances to Eastern Cape and avoided family dependencies that they deemed non-obligatory. They still managed to practice their collectivistic cultural values of supporting extended family but it was on their own terms (Lebo, interview, 2013; Bongi, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nozuko, interview, 2014, Khetiwe, interview, 2014).

Community engagements and altruistic practices had a bearing on the participants' wellbeing and business sustainability as the two intertwined. The most enabling cluster was distinguished from the moderately and least enabling clusters in that they tended to be involved in their communities or take leadership positions on community committees (Bongi, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nozuko, interview, 2014). Bongi was a secretary of LBF, Nozuko was a *sangoma* in Nyanga community, where she lived, assuming healing, spiritual and indigenous knowledge expertise. Lebo was a leader of her micro-lending group. Doris reported about her community committee leadership role in Khayelitsha where she resided:

> *It's about managing community issues. Like guarding against criminals, we discuss if we are robbed and if there are children abusing drug[s], what we should do, and things like that... If [the] municipality is not supporting us with things, electricity is switching off every minute and water rates are too much.* (Doris, interview, 2014).

By engaging in community leadership activities, participants gained a public identity, respect, and security. Other participants contributed to the community in less salient ways by empowering other women, training them to trade, employing traders at their trading stalls and participating in church activities (Nina, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Zukiswa, interview, 2014). They coordinated *stokvels* and burial society payments. In addition, they generally espoused and embedded the values of *ubuntu*, such as respect and amicability, in their interactions with community members. These actions and their social responsiveness contributed directly or indirectly to their trading business by creating good rapport and publicity for their businesses.

Notwithstanding the patterns of the most enabling actions demonstrated by participants in this cluster, there was evidence of disenabling actions by the participants. These included participation in too many activities and membership to too many different community structures, which tended to caused role conflict, particularly when participants had to choose between attending meetings, participating in training or operating their businesses. For example, Bongi's multi-tasking sometimes conflicted with her roles and resulted in failure to commit to some of the roles. In addition, most participants neglected important business tasks, such as record keeping and bookkeeping, and relied on receipts and memory.

8.4 Moderately enabled cluster

There was more evidence among the moderately enabling cluster than the least enabled, but less than the most enabled, of actions promoting business sustainability and participants' wellbeing. The business management strategies, including profitable purchasing, selling and pricing, were similar to those in the most enabled cluster. However, there were also observable disenabling actions including tendencies to sell goods with small profit margins and a limited variety of products, not stocking adequately, multi-tasking business activities with housework, thereby interfering with business operations. Some participants failed to manage perishable products, which affected profitability adversely. Participants tended to rely more on interpersonal skills, and neglected business skills, which affected business efficiency and profitability.

Participants in the moderately enabled cluster lacked relevant previous work experience in trading compared to the most enabled cluster. Financial management actions were characterised by calculated risk in acquisition of loans, regular conscientious savings and profit-orientated sales and credit policies. Self-improvement projects and networks were inward looking by focusing on family and community as opposed to outward looking by extending business networks beyond Langa. The difference between the moderately enabling and the most enabling clusters was that the latter advanced interventions towards business enhancement and profit maximisation, whereas the former were still developing interventions towards operational improvement. Family- and community-orientated actions were mostly supportive and altruistic. However, participants struggled to balance business interests and family obligations.

8.4.1 Business-orientated actions: managing trading operations

Business-orientated actions in the moderately enabling cluster manifested in somewhat similar ways to the most enabling cluster in certain respects. Unlike participants in the above cluster who had prior work experience related to their trading, participants in this cluster had worked in positions that were not linked to their trading as indicated in Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2. Previous work experience of participants in relation to current trading businesses

Participant	Previous work experience	Current trading business
Amanda	Sales agent (financial company)	Fruit-and-vegetable vendor
Thelma	Clerk	Cooking business (chicken feet)
Tumeka	Waiter	Fruit-and-vegetable vendor
Sofia	Cleaner	Baking and confectionery
Thobeka	Domestic worker	Traditional cuisine catering
Noluntu	Never worked	Mini-*spaza* shop
Mandisa	Never worked	Chicken business

Despite the lack of trading experience in trading-related work, six participants organised their routine of operations by purchasing in bulk from wholesale suppliers or farmers to cut costs, located their trading stalls in busy locations, and paid attention to the quality of their products. Their pricing strategies were similar to the most enabling cluster (Amanda, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2012; Thelma, interview, 2012). The one participant who fared badly in this regard was Sofia, who bought her baking supplies from Shoprite (a retail shop), at relatively high prices and in small quantities, thereby increasing her costs. Her business location was also in a quiet area rendering her low sales. She, however, demonstrated other enabling strategies, such as selling a wide variety of products, operating another business and attempting to promote her business using printed pamphlets (unlike other participants, who did not try to advertise). She was not limited by a traditional approach to street trading, hence her classification in the moderately enabled cluster rather than in the least enabled cluster.This demonstrates that participants sometimes straddle across clusters and do not fit neatly in one cluster.

Certain actions disenabled business sustainability. For example, poor stock control of perishable products like fruit and vegetables, which end up rotting causing financial losses (Amanda, interview and participant observation, 2014; Tumeka, interview and fieldwork notes, 2014). By contrast, the most enabled participants, who sold perishable products like meat and chicken, employed strategies such as reducing prices before the goods went bad and giving small extra pieces to regular and bulk buyers (Nozuko, interview and fieldwork notes, 2014; Nosipho, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017). Furthermore, participants in the moderately enabling cluster were less inclined to be proactive in their purchasing strategies. For example, while the most-enabling cluster made attempts to check and compare prices and promotions in the print media via community newspapers, participants in this cluster where happy to have free deliveries, as they did not have vehicles to facilitate stocking, thereby losing on promotions (Noluntu, interview, 2013; Thobeka, interview, 2013).

8.4.2 Business-orientated actions: managing finances

Participants in this cluster, like their counterparts in the most enabling cluster, showed adeptness at managing their finances, they saved regularly in *stokvels*, weighing up risks associated with borrowing money and clear profit calculation strategies. They tended to have a no-credit policy that helped to sustain their cash flow and finances (Amanda, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Sofia, interview, 2014; Thobeka, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2012). However, participants in this cluster tended to sell a limited variety of goods with small profit margins. Because of these limiting factors, most of these businesses remained small; generating barely enough profit to allow for some savings. By comparison, those in the most enabling cluster sold more variety and highly priced goods that generated more profit.

8.4.3 Business-orientated actions: developing skills and networks

Pursuing life-improvement projects, such as skills development training and developing networks that enhanced the business, is critical to building a sustainable enterprise. Unlike those in most enabling cluster, who tended to look for external opportunities to enhance their business skills and other business-related benefits, participants in the moderately enabled cluster tended to confine themselves to church and social relations. The only two participants who affiliated to organisations beyond church and social networks, reported business-related benefits (Thelma, interview, 2012; Sofia, interview, 2014). For example, Sofia demonstrated that she built networks with an NGO called Banking Clothing that empowered working-class

women in entrepreneurship, computer skills and family counselling. She also attended a part-time six-month business management course at PC Training and Business College (Sofia, interview and field journal, 2014). Other participants in this cluster could have extended themselves like Sofia, but they did not.

8.4.4 Business-orientated actions: managing customers and other traders

Good relations with customers and fellow traders characterised participants in this cluster. In fact, they tended to emphasise interpersonal skills more than business operations skills. All seven participants in this cluster highlighted the importance of chatting to customers and treating them well. They took pride in keeping clean trading stalls and having sufficient stock for their customers (Amanda, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Sofia, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2012; Thelma, interview, 2012). Amanda, represented the sentiments of her peers in this cluster when she talked about the importance of developing rapport with customers and the community generally:

> *If you do not talk to people, even the customers will not come… When I come out of my house and I do not greet people or I easily get irritable… then even my business will not run well…They say, "We chose you because your fruit is clean at the same time we know you, we cannot let you down." So, my customers are loyal* (Amanda, interview, 2014).

However, one unintended consequence of African neighbourliness is that the boundaries between being a neighbour and being a trader were blurred. This was evident in my participant observations when traders let customers get away with little things like playfully grabbing an apple from a trader's table without paying and others returning food bought and taken outside the shop. Participants in this cluster also blurred business-home boundaries by doing household chores and caregiving during business time and at work (Tumeka, interview, 2014; Sofia, interview, 2014; Amanda, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview 2013). Those in the enabling cluster also blurred these boundaries, but they did so far less frequently.

8.4.5 Family and community orientated actions

Family- and community-orientated actions were characterised by mutually supportive relationships within family, community and fellow traders. Of the seven participants in this cluster, Amanda, Mandisa and Sofia were married. In constructing narratives about how they organised routine activities in their families, both women resonated with the most enabling actions cluster in emphasising the key role of mutual support and collaboration. Amanda reported how she put in place an organised routine of supportive activities within her family:

> *In this house, we balance; nothing clashes with my trading stall activities. I wake up, clean my room, and go to my stall. When my stepson comes from school, he relieves me from the stall and I come here to cook. When my husband comes from work, I do not make him food because I am busy. The things that I do are for all of us…. He looks for bread or something to eat. It is not necessary that when he enters the house, he sits down while I make him food. We got married fifty-fifty, that is what I say. He sometimes says I must not cook he will cook…. But he doesn't wash the dishes; he knows that the child will wash them* (Amanda, interview, 2014).

The above sentiments portray a spirit of teamwork, sensitivity and a more egalitarian approach to family life. This contributed positively to the business when Amanda got support in the business and at home. Similarly, Sofia enjoyed a supportive family environment. When I conducted participant observation at her confectionery shop, her husband was assisting her with baking, purchasing and serving customers. In decision-making, participants emphasised communication, negotiation and collaboration in the family and business affairs. The other four participants were single mothers, who received support from their children and extended family members by ensuring reciprocal supportive exchanges such as doing household chores, running errands, minding the trading stall and giving financial support (Noluntu, interview, 2013; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Thelma, interview, 2013). Participants in this cluster grappled with balancing culturally imposed values relating to family obligations compared to their most enabled counterparts. For example, they financially supported unemployed adult children in the home, who depended on them and some neglected to claim state grants for raising relative's children (Amanda, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2013; Mandisa, interview, 2013).

Community-orientated actions among participants in the moderately enabling cluster revolved around altruistic practices and mutually interdependent relationships with fellow traders. Sometimes kinship ties reinforced such supportive relationships. Amanda explained her motivation for assisting Nina in a mutually supportive relationship:

> *No, I was just helping [in Nina's shop] when I was free... She would give me whatever she had. I did not want her to pay me because she has hired help. Because we are close ... we come from the same place in Eastern Cape… I go to help her because she is a person that I know. Like, she would give me money whatever amount it was, or she would buy something as a surprise… We help each other. If she wants to eat in the house, she eats because her house is in Khayelitsha. If I want to bring her something I will* (Amanda, interview, 2014).

By stressing the idea of helping each other, Amanda reflected on the nature of traders' relationships at trading sites that I observed in Langa whereby participants made explicit and tacit agreements about products for sale. For example, along Albert Lithuli Street trading site, where more than ten women braaied meat, there was an agreement that only Noluntu should sell bread and cool drinks that customers usually buy with their braai. Participants also agreed

on set prices if they were selling the same products in the same places. They helped each other with packaging materials and formed supportive networks whereby caterers bought from fruit-and-vegetable vendors (Fieldwork journal, 2013 & 2014). Although such interdependent relationships were not conflict free conflict, on the whole, they helped participants to sustain their businesses. Participants cherished such relationships based on the spirit of ubuntu and expressed in words such as *"siyancedisana"* (we help each other) *or* "*siyasebenzisana"* (we work together).

Street harassment was an example of an unexpected consequence being a women trader at a tax rank. Participants affected by street harassment responded in varied ways. Amanda, a married woman, saw the need to avoid situations and spaces, such as the middle of the taxi rank, that exposed her to taxi drivers' sexual harassment that insulted her and her husbands' dignity (Amanda, interview, March, 2014). Tumeka, however, used a more confrontational response as she did not feel the need to vacate her trading stall in the middle of the taxi rank. She summed up strategy as follows:

> *If he [taxi driver] touches me, I will get into his taxi free… That is what I do, and they know it. If they take an apple from my stall, I do not stress. When I go back [home] to Gugulethu, my taxi fare is R8. I will not pay that R8*. (Tumeka, interview, 2014).

Amanda and Tumeka's examples showed that, although they were in the same cluster based on similarities in their purposive actions their responses to constraints and challenges varied according to their values and personalities.

8.5 Least enabled cluster

The least enabling cluster largely showed more signs than the other two clusters of business and family/community actions that were potentially less business and/or wellbeing enabling. Notwithstanding the fact that participants in this cluster were persistent in executing trading operations, at a fundamental level, their business-orientated actions generated low income and, consequently fewer wellbeing outcomes. Participants in this cluster emphasised cleanliness, friendliness to customers and improving specific tasks, like cooking, while they purchased ingredients from retail shops or fellow traders instead of more cheaply from wholesalers and farmers. They lacked strategies to respond to low seasons. Participants in this cluster also lacked experience as traders.

Actions related to managing finances were the major weakness of participants in this cluster. Participants tended to make loans and struggled to pay them back. Most were blacklisted or

feared debt due to lack of debt-management knowledge. Relative to the other clusters fewer participants in this cluster saved regularly because of the little income generated. Their networks were limited to local community groups, like churches and traders' associations, that provided trading security and emotional support but not business-related skills and opportunities. Relationship-management showed evidence of hostility, and being overwhelmed and neglected by family members. Unintended consequences of their actions mostly involved relationships.

8.5.1 Business-orientated actions: managing trading operations

The nine participants in this cluster operated businesses that included fruit and vegetables, hawking, flea market, braaiing and catering on a very low scale. Of the nine participants, five had never worked before starting their businesses and the other four worked as, cleaners, waitresses and unskilled labourers. No doubt, these roles provided opportunities for them to acquire interpersonal skills but not business skills. They took the initiative to start their businesses in response to un/under-employment, and generally demonstrated persistence, tenacity and basic skills, like paying attention to the quality of their products, a considerable measure of cleanliness and courtesy to customers. The dominant patterns among those in this cluster were selling small items at low cost, intermittent trading interrupted by periods of working informal jobs and temporary business closures (Linomtha, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Asanda, interview, 2013). Crucial operation strategies that are common in business practice, such as purchasing supplies, methods of selling and promoting products, choice of merchandise and ways of relating to customers were in this cluster poorly managed and compromised the sustainability of their businesses.

These tendencies limited income generation by incurring escalating running costs and limiting income flowing into the business. For example, when comparing Constance's (least enabled) and Thobeka's (moderately enabled) catering businesses, which both sold traditional meals at the taxi rank; Constance had a narrower range of meals. Constance sold only starch-based meals and stews compared to Thobeka, who had more variety in her meals and was the only trader who braaied a pork in that location. The limited menu in Constance's restaurant attracted fewer customers. Unlike her counterparts in the more enabled clusters who went out of their way to buy meat and chicken from butchers and farms, Constance preferred to buy chicken and other products from fellow traders at the taxi rank and Shoprite supermarket in Langa at significantly higher costs (Constance, fieldwork journal, 2014; Thobeka, fieldwork journal,

2013). Similarly, Victoria, who also had a small catering business, and Phatiswa, who was a muffin hawker, purchased their ingredients from Shoprite supermarket.

Nolufefe had a flea market for clothes and accessories, but they were exposed to the sun causing some items to fade and diminishing their quality. Furthermore, there were no evidence of strategies to promote their business during low seasons. I noticed that the participants in this cluster tended merely complain about poor sales, admitting that they did nothing to address the problem. Participants in this cluster, thus, tended to acquiesce to the constraint of low-peak sales. (Linomtha, interview, 2013; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014). Notwithstanding the substantial evidence of disenabling actions perpetrated by participants in this cluster, there was evidence of three of the nine participants demonstrating a combination of proactive business strategies. They purchased quality supplies from farms, wholesalers or factories. In addition, they maintained regular savings, sold a variety of products and used social networks to promote their businesses (Noxolo, interview, 2014; Asanda, interview, 2013; Linomtha, interview, 2013). However, while these business practices were commendable and had the potential to become more sustainable, their choice of products, quantity sales and income generated severely limited these prospects. Their method of selling (hawking and poor credit management) and operating the business intermittently while looking for other jobs subsequently led to some of their stalls being closed. For this cluster of participants the disenabling actions tended to exceed their enabling actions.

8.5.2 Business-orientated actions: managing finances

Regarding financial management, four of the nine participants reported that they maintained regular savings in *stokvels* (Linomtha, interview, 2013; Noxolo, interview, 2014, Pamela, interview, 2014, Zoleka, interview, 2014). Their savings were, however, relatively small compared to participants in the above two clusters. For example, Zoleka reported her savings as:

> *It helps me if I save R50, that R50 help[s] me. It works here apparently at the stand whatever I gained, whether it is R100, I take R50 and keep … the remainder* (Zoleka, interview).

Thus, whilst Zoleka and the three above-mentioned other participants made attempts to save regularly, the very limited degree of enablement derived from their savings strategy placed them in the least enabling cluster. Five out of nine participants did not save regularly because they did not generate enough income and most of it was for subsistence. In some cases, there

was a general distrust of *stokvels*, fear of bank charges or not being able to access the money when needed for immediate needs. Nolufefe explained:

> *People misuse money at the* stokvels... Stokvel *people take the money and use it for themselves and you think the person has deposited the money; meanwhile she has spent it… I do not like the* stokvel, *which keeps money in the bank, and when you want to use the money, you have problems. If I want it now, I want it now to solve my problem* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

While participants in this cluster were aware of bank loan services, they feared indebtedness like some of their counterparts in the moderating enabling cluster, as they knew their businesses where not generating enough regular income to service loans. Three of the nine participants in this cluster reported bad bank loan experiences where they struggled to pay off the loan and had to deal with blacklisting (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Linomtha, interview, 2013; Constance, interview, 2014). Managing financial services was thus a challenge for participants in the least enabling cluster compared to the other clusters because they faced the dilemma of needing loans to grow their businesses, but their low fluctuating income prevented them from doing so.

8.5.3 Business-orientated actions: developing business-sustaining networks

Participants in the least enabling cluster demonstrated an ability to form networks in local churches or burial societies. These community-based social networks benefited participants in this cluster by supporting them in doing errands and chores relating to household and businesses (Noxolo, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2013). Some participants in this cluster were active in business related networks such as the four who saved through stokvels and the seven were members of traders' associations. Although these networks provided their members with social capital and a place to discuss trade-related problems there was no evidence that they exposed their members to new business-related skills or created business opportunities. Participants in this cluster tended to be inward looking by confining their networks within the community thereby limiting business operations. By contrast, their counterparts in the more enabling clusters were outward looking by extending networks outside the community in ways that boosted their businesses.

8.5.4 Business-orientated actions: managing relationships with customers and traders

Participants emphasised inter-personal skills such as friendliness, courteousness and respect (Noxolo, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2013). Participants expressed that they were deliberate in their positive interactions with customers as they considered the most important in sustaining their businesses. Participant observation

largely corroborated their statements. I witnessed a few contrary incidents during my fieldwork. I observed some participants responding aggressively to provocative customers, but these were isolated incidents (Zoleka, participant observation, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

When interacting with fellow traders, participants in this cluster were mostly positive and supportive of each other, as in the other two clusters. They helped each other at the trading stalls by serving customers in the absence of fellow traders and loaned each other money and utensils. However, amidst such collegial interactions, four participants reported feeling threatened, alienated and isolated by jealous fellow traders (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014). Such negative perceptions tended to influence traders' responses to constraints associated with power in the trading arena sometimes doing so in ways that were detrimental to their businesses and wellbeing. For example, when traders mistrusted each other due to alienation and unresolved conflict, this disrupted the interdependent supportive relationships amongst them (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

8.5.5 Family and community orientated actions

Of the three clusters, only the least enabling cluster showed a pattern unsupportive family relations. Six participants out of nine participants in this cluster reported experiencing exploitative, abusive and financially draining family members. Their unsupportive family environments were aggravated by the difficulties of single motherhood (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, March 2014). For example, Noxolo was raising a niece's child, which she complained was financially constraining but she had never applied for foster care grant, for which she qualified. Phatiswa also did not receive financial support or help in her business or in her domestic duties from her unemployed adult children and boyfriend she lived with. Unlike Amanda in the moderately enabled cluster, Phatiswa allowed traditional patriarchal gender stereotypes and divisions of labour to dictate her perspective and behaviour:

> *They are men [referring to her children]. If you are a man, you cannot do girls' work … They must wake up and go job-hunting… No, my boyfriend cannot go to sell muffins. It is too low for him to go sell muffins. It is right if it is a woman, not for a man to go sell muffins. I do not see my man going to sell muffins… because people are rude out here. They would rather be rude to me because I am also rude when somebody is rude* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Phatiswa was constantly exhausted and her domestic arrangements impacted negatively on the sustainability of her business and her general wellbeing. All those who experienced

unsupportive and exploitative families found their burdensome domestic circumstances negatively affected their businesses.

Despite most women in this cluster tending to respond to constraints in less enabling ways, some responded in enabling ways. For example, Nolufefe was able to set clear boundaries in her abusive relationship with her husband by seeking intervention from the police. Relations improved and her husband ended up helping her in her business. Nolufefe's purposive actions are similar to most enabled and moderately enabled participants in this respect, however because her business-orientated actions in relation to selling strategies, financial management and relationships with significant others was substantially less transformative, I placed her in the least enabled cluster rather than the moderately enabled cluster. Nolufefe's story illustrates Giddens's notion of an agent who acts purposively and knowledgably to effect change in her circumstances. She also knew how to balance family-orientated actions and business interests. However, she struggled with the other dimensions of purposive action.

While participants in the least enabling cluster generally showed disenabling tendencies in their family-orientated actions, three (Linomtha, interview,2014; Pamela, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014) enjoyed mutually supportive family relations and they engaged in positive and enabling actions that promoted the family wellbeing and created boundaries that enhanced the sustainability of the business. This chapter demonstrated the extent to which participants exercised agency through business orientated and community orientated actions.

Chapter 9| Transformation-improvements in wellbeing

This chapter focuses on the extent to which participants' lives improved or transformed because of their agency as traders. I begin by locating the concept of transformation in relation to agency. I move on to present the various facets of change in the wellbeing of the participants and weight them according to degrees of transformations in the participants' lives.

9.1 Transformation: Working definition and facets of wellbeing

Transformation encompasses making a difference to pre-existing circumstances through actions. I use this understanding of the transformative power of agency to improve wellbeing in my assessment and clustering of participants. While income is crucial in the measurement of wellbeing outcomes, it is not the only measure. Participants emphasised wellbeing outcomes, such as being able to feed the family, sending children to school, improving problem-solving skills and gaining more autonomy in decision-making.

The main categories of wellbeing that emerged from the data included (1) generating income and being able to support families materially, (2) being able to practice internalised family and social values, (3) enjoying peaceful and supportive family relationships, and (4) pursuing personal development projects and building networks. In considering the above facets, I did not attempt to rank them in hierarchical order, as the CA does not rank capabilities in order of importance. Participants' narratives, therefore, determined what I understood to be their valued wellbeing outcomes achieved through operating trading businesses. Based on this understanding, I assessed achievements in wellbeing outcomes using a set of criteria.

9.2 Criteria development

To what extent did the operation of the trading business lead to change in the participants' wellbeing outcomes in relation to:

(1) income generation that leads to more independence, autonomy and empowerment to support family members materially?
(2) practising family value priorities relating to cultural identity?
(3) enjoying peaceful and supportive family relationships that promoted holistic wellbeing?

(4) pursuing personal development projects and building networks?

9. 3 Summative description of clusters in relation to facets of wellbeing outcomes

The spectrum of facets ranged from individual achievements to relationship-orientated wellbeing outcomes. Evidence showed a range of achievements from the more tangible wellbeing outcomes, such as income, to the more abstract ones, such as empowerment. The above criteria generated three distinct clusters based on the extent of their experience of transformation: most transformed, moderately transformed and least transformed.

The most transformed cluster had extensive evidence pointing to attaining achievements in most wellbeing outcomes that participants valued. Participants tended to achieve individual aspirations regarding generating income (e.g., net monthly income over R4 000) and could afford to support their families materially. Tangible life improvements due to increased income included savings, purchasing affordable houses or cars, home improvements and children's education. Other improvements included performing costly traditional rituals or obtaining life skills training that enabled better decision-making. They also described improvements in domestic life and other interpersonal relationships. They linked these improvements to greater autonomy derived from increased household income and more bargaining power that helped resolve conflict and other problems more quickly. Nonetheless, the features of this profile were not absolute. Having more income sometimes had negative consequences for them. For example, in at least one case, it resulted in marital conflict due to new income inequalities in the household, and the husband becoming jealous of the wife's higher earnings.

The moderately transformed cluster was characterised by moderate evidence of transformation linked to their ability to generate income, support family, manage relationships, practice cultural beliefs, seek empowerment opportunities and make autonomous decisions. While these women generated moderate income (net monthly income ranging from R2 000 to R4 000), their wellbeing outcomes tended to be limited by difficulties in negotiating their context-specific structural constraints and accessing opportunities from external organisations. For example, generating relatively low income inhibited their ability to purchase vehicles for transporting stock and their day-to-day mobility. Participants in this cluster generally enjoyed wellbeing outcomes at an individual level, such as providing for their extended family in line with social values. They enjoyed some autonomy in decision-making pertaining to managing income as determined by familial circumstances. The evidence of transformation was mainly

in the form of their ability to provide for the family's basic needs, savings and sending remittances to the rural Eastern Cape. These participants were also continuously striving to achieve more aspirations.

The least transformed cluster demonstrated the least evidence of achieving wellbeing outcomes with respect to income generation (net monthly income of less than R2 000), ability to support family, and make autonomous decisions, including basic decisions affecting their wellbeing, such as healthcare. They managed to engage in socio-cultural activities that they valued, but in ways that did not always enhance their wellbeing. For example, experiencing the need to support extended family members was a burden because they felt they could not afford it. This cluster also showed evidence of more stressful interpersonal relationships owing to low levels of income, thus affecting autonomy and emotional wellbeing. There was more evidence of lack of support and motivation from their significant others. These participants tended to neglect opportunities for personal development. They showed little or no evidence of tangible results beyond meeting their subsistence needs.

9.4 Clustering participants

Table 9.2 below shows the clustering of participants according to the degree to which they achieved transformation and improvements in their lives or lack thereof from the operation of their businesses.

Table 9.2. Clusters relating to evidence of transformation

Most transformed	Moderately transformed	Least transformed
Zukiswa	Thobeka	Pamela
Selethu	Sofia	Constance
Lebo	Noluntu	Nolufefe
Doris	Tumeka	Linomtha
Nina	Mandisa	Victoria
Nosipho	Amanda	Phatiswa
Bongi	Asanda	Zoleka
Nozuko		Noxolo
Khetiwe		
Thelma		

9.5 Most enabled cluster

For participants in this cluster, generating more income was pivotal to their wellbeing, as they perceived their trading businesses as careers. All ten participants in this cluster generated monthly income ranging from R4 000 to over R5 000 and regular monthly savings of about R400. This proportion of savings is significant by township standards in a micro-economic environment where both poverty and instant gratification are rampant. Narratives encompassed improvements in income generation compared to previous workplaces (Lebo, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Zukiswa, interview, 2014; Doris, interview, 2014; Nina, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014). For example, despite her husband being financially unsupportive, Lebo still managed to save regularly.

> *I save R2 000 per month… so, I am going to get R8 000 in November and I will get it and do the cultural rituals… The problem is the money I get from here; I cannot save it as I wish… He [husband] does not give me money for the children. So, I need to take the money and look after the children; milk, nappies, clothes and everything* (Lebo interview, 2013).

These women demonstrated that they went beyond providing for subsistence needs to improvement their lives. During participant observation I saw evidence of purchased assets, such as containers for doing businesses, cars and houses. Nina talked about improvements using savings from income from her 20-year business:

> *I got my container in 2000... I saved the money that I was getting from the sales… If I get [sic] maybe R200, I would put away R50. So, I saved in that way until my money was R3 000… Yes, then, with my husband, we agreed, "Let us save the money" then we got the container for R5 000 that time… We bought the car cash, we are still paying for the house... We pay at the bank... I travel with my own car, I do not hire [for stocking], and that is easier* (Nina, interview, 2013).

Nina's example typifies participants in the most transformed cluster in that they started small improving their businesses and lives despite constraints, such as the lack of trading facilities. Nosipho also narrated improvements in her life from when she started her business with R50 to a point where she bought a car, which made her life much easier.

> *I started the business … with R50... in 1999... I got it from my husband.... I started by selling eggs and chicken pieces… It is easier now; when I started the business there was* nix *[nothing]. The thing that is easier today in the business is that I bought a car. I travel by car when I go to stock, and when I knock off, I go back home with my own car… I built my house with income from the business… So, it has been a great gain* (Nosipho, interview, 2013).

Five participants out of ten in this cluster reported that they bought houses through their businesses (Nina, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Thelma, interview, 2013). In addition, while participants in the moderately

and least transformed clusters managed to pay for their children's education, there was more evidence in the most enabled cluster (five participants out of nine) of sending children to tertiary institutions to study electrical engineering, tourism and business management. Other participants sought to further their own education motivated by higher income-earning careers (Selethu, interview, 2013; Nina, participant observation notes, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Zukiswa, participant observation notes, 2017; Lebo, interview, 2013; Bongi, interview, 2013). Income-generation in this cluster enabled participants to accomplish more things and expanded their capabilities.

In addition to negotiating constraining circumstances, such as savings difficulties, financial institutions' rigid lending policies, being sole breadwinners facing rising costs, participants in this cluster also tapped into opportunities available to them. Social security grants, support from husbands, such as getting starting capital and transport for stocking, all played a crucial role in supplementing income from businesses (Nina, interview, 2013; Lebo, interview, 2013; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Bongi, interview, 2013). While participants in this cluster demonstrated agency and improved their life circumstances to a certain extent, resources in their social milieu facilitated improvements. This cluster of participants responded to their constraints in ways that were more enabling making them more resilient and industrious in their enterprises than their counterparts in the other clusters.

There was evidence that participants in this cluster had become more empowered, self-reliant and independent particularly in making decisions and choices about their businesses. Because they became accustomed to making decisions in their businesses, women in this cluster reported their ability to translate decision-making skills to other aspects of their lives. For example, two participants were able to make important decisions about resuming their education to complete Matric and a university degree, and four were able to operate additional businesses. Others gained freedom emanating from home- and car-ownership and gaining additional practical skills, such as driving, thus enhancing class mobility and autonomy (Lebo, interview, 2013, Bongi, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Nosipho, interview, 2013; Nina, interview, 2013; Doris, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014). There was also evidence in this cluster of four participants acquiring additional business management skills from external community development organisations and private institutions, which enhanced their ability to operate their businesses (Lebo, interview, 2013; Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Bongi, interview, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013). For example,

Selethu stated how she seized opportunities for skills training offered by a community-based organisation:

> *So, whatever that comes that will empower and uplift, I will go for…One [course] was a month and one was three months, but I had to go twice in a week…How to run a business and how to start a business … How to draw a business plan*. (Selethu, interview, 2013).

Clearly, the operation of trading businesses for women in this cluster provided improvements other than income. Moreover, while they, like all participants, were members of community networks, such as churches, *stokvels* and burial societies, they built external networks beyond community organisations over time that helped them prosper in their businesses. Such networks incorporated relationships built with suppliers for over 20 years, financial and micro-lending institutions (like Tetla), direct sales companies promoting entrepreneurship such as Avon and Forever Living Products (Nosipho, interview, 2014; Lebo, interview, 2013, Khetiwe, interview, 2017; Bongi, interview, 2013). Developing external business-enhancing networks helped participants to grow in their entrepreneurial endeavours by cushioning them against financial setbacks, ensuring constant quality supplies for the sustainability of their businesses and providing soft loans. In a trading environment fraught with constraints, gaining supportive relationships was transformative because, on their own, the women traders were least likely to succeed. Needless to say, while operating trading business brought about changes like autonomy and empowerment, they were limited by lack of municipal support, feelings of disappointment in the government's lack of assistance on access to land and financial support, and also limited opportunities in the community. There were also context-specific constraints relating to family circumstances that limited their autonomy as in cases where the women's spouses were unemployed or financially neglectful, and single parenthood. Thus, although there was a measure of autonomy and empowerment from the operation of their business, it was not fully developed

Social values were intrinsic to participants' wellbeing because they gave them a sense of cultural identity. This was achieved by taking care of extended family members, sending remittances to the rural Eastern Cape, maintaining contact with and improvements in rural homes, and paying for costly traditional rituals. Trading further contributed to fostering social values by cultivating their sense of diligence, persistence, perseverance and self-reliance. In this cluster, participants demonstrated achievement of most wellbeing outcomes in relation to traditional values. In particular, those values requiring paying for performances of traditional rituals. For example, Selethu explained how she financed her nephew's traditional rite of passage into manhood because she was his guardian.

> *Because he [nephew] was going to circumcision school… we slaughtered a cow…. a goat that Friday night, six cases of beer and one case of brandy and a lot of* umqombothi *(traditional beer). The third day we slaughtered a goat again…. after spending the first seven days in the bush where he eats nothing but mealies…. They [initiators] released him to eat other foods. They slaughtered a goat again, and he stayed there for three to four weeks. When he came out, they had to slaughter a goat and then the other meat can just be from sheep… For other people that were invited, you slaughter at least five to ten sheep... When he came out of the circumcision school, all the clothes that he has been wearing as a boy, he was no longer allowed to wear. He started a new wardrobe. Yes, at least you must have R30 000* (Selethu, interview, 2013).

Costly as they were in monetary terms, most participants in the study valued such rituals highly. Similarly, some participants spend their income on maintaining rural homes on ancestral land. Thus, trading businesses enabled participants to practice their cultural and traditional values thereby achieving a sense of wellbeing. Furthermore, there was much evidence in this cluster of participants of those who enjoyed selling traditional food that appealed to the tastes of their customers in the community Nine participants out of ten in this cluster sold traditional foods such as *amagwinya*, lamb chops braai, offal and stewed chicken feet thereby affording them the opportunity to preserve traditional cuisines and values.

By operating their businesses participants exercised positive, nurturing, trusting and respectful interpersonal or communal relationships as part of their cultural identity and wellbeing outcomes. Except for Lebo, who experienced jealousy, insecurities and financial burdens, all participants in the cluster reported improved familial relationships from the operation of trading businesses. They tended to collaborate with children and spouses in both business and housework. Responding to a question of how their families felt about the operation of their businesses, participants' responses captured a strong sense of support, encouragement, assistance, happiness, appreciation and enjoyment (Nina, interview, 2013; Zukiswa, interview, 2014; Selethu, interview, 2013; Nozuko, interview, 2014).

Trading enhanced social networks in churches, neighbours and the community at large. Granted, there were jealousies from some community members, but, mostly, participants in this cluster tended to enjoy a great sense of belonging and respect emanating from the entrepreneurial role they played in the community. For example, participants played the added roles of being counsellors, advisors, entertainers and role models in their communities (Doris, participant observation notes, 2014; Nosipho, participant observation notes, 2013; Bongi, participant observation notes, 2013; Selethu, interview, 2013). Their businesses were centres of distribution, socialisation and entertainment thus fostering a sense of belonging, cultural identity and, ultimately, wellbeing. My findings show that in addition to income, a wide range

of capabilities were enhanced and transformed by activities associated with the most enabled participants' businesses.

9.6 Moderately enabled cluster

The seven participants in this cluster earned income between R2 000 and R3 000, which was below the most transformed cluster. Participants in this cluster maintained regular savings mostly averaging R200 per week through *stokvels* that ran usually for 10 months a year, resulting in annual savings of R8 000. Using income as a limited measure to assess change in the lives of women, it is evident that transformation took place. For example, Thobeka narrated how she saw an increase in her income when she stopped working at Seven Eleven shop and as a domestic worker, to open her own business and experimented with different types of businesses.

> *I left [previous work] because I started my own business. I took that container that you saw…to run a spaza shop but it did not go far... Yes, I saw business was slow. I stopped the shop then I thought, "Let me do a cooking business and sell braaied meat."... I was just trying, and I noticed that sales were moving. It was not the same as the spaza shop.* (Thobeka, interview, 2013).

Similarly, the other six participants testified that they started their businesses out of desperation to survive after losing jobs and over time they saw improvements in their income-generation (Sofia, interview, 2014; Amanda, interview, 2014; Asanda, interview, 2012; Mandisa, interview, 2014; Tumeka, interview, 2014; Noluntu, interview, 2014). Like the most transformed cluster, participants were able to provide for the basic needs of their families, such as food, accommodation, sending children to school and medical needs. There was, however, no evidence in this cluster of educating children beyond high school to tertiary level or buying assets, such as houses and cars.

As in the most transformed cluster, participants' familial support and accessing social security grants was also influential in enabling income generation. Spouses or family members, who worked, made it easier for them to save regularly. For example, responding to a question on what challenges she faced in making decisions about her business and life in general Tumeka, a single mother of three, narrated how she felt independent but also supported by her family:

> *I am independent…because I wake up and come here and go back home. I go on to give them vegetables. That is why I have no stress. I take out money for buying electricity and they buy bread and milk. We do not lack anything… At home my extended family gives me money… maybe the business is slow …. They also buy my children clothes if the money is short and the children do not have anything to wear… It is my auntie's house [where she lived]* (Tumeka, interview, 2014).

However, for most traders in this cluster, feeding many extended family members precluded

them from achieving higher income. For example, Sofia operated a confectionery and a clothing business. I later learnt that her confectionery business closed down, but she kept trying with small-scale confectionary and clothing products. She also had dependent adult children and an unemployed husband. Similarly, Mandisa was married with an unemployed husband but he contributed to the household income with his welfare grant (Sofia, field notes, 2014; Mandisa, interview, 2013). Family contexts varied some limiting and others supporting the women traders' income generation. The pattern in this cluster tended to demonstrate the former: transformation was a result of a combination of both agency and enabling or disenabling structural factors, like families.

Similar to the most transformed cluster, trading businesses empowered participants in this cluster to be more independent and autonomous in decision-making for both married (Sofia, Amanda, Asanda, Mandisa) and single mothers (Thobeka, Tumeka, Noluntu). Married women valued making joint decisions with husbands, who also assisted with the business. For example, when responding to a question on what skills she gained from the operation of her business, Sofia stated:

> *Here in the business you need to record and make sure that not just anyone handles money, you see, in everything be strict. Even yourself, you must always be available, be there especially when the business is starting… I think that my skills are, for my business to succeed, is to be strict. You see that I have children... and there is their father. They will always want to eat free without paying. They are the ones who can make me broke if I am not strict* (Sofia, interview, 2014).

As evidence of empowerment in business decision-making, Sofia considered herself skilful in setting boundaries for her business, managing finances and interacting with her customers. In addition, while Sofia felt empowered to make decisions, as a married woman, she reported the importance of engaging in negotiation processes in decision-making with her husband through communication and challenges inherent therein.

> *It is not easy to make decisions alone because I am married, so he is going to complain. You cannot decide alone because when you are married… it will be wrong… you are united… You need to talk that you want to do things this way* (Sofia, interview, 2014).

By emphasising communication with her husband in decision-making, Sofia did not express a sense of disempowerment or relinquishing her power to make decision. Rather, she deferred to her husband in a power-sharing process within the bounds of social values and contractual agreements of her marriage. Arguably, Sofia's deference differs from feminist perspectives on forced consciousness whereby women acquiesce to male domination and reinforce violence and disempowerment in their homes (Stewart & Zimmerman, 2015:210). In her case and similar cases of married women in this cluster, participants constructed narratives of

negotiating decision-making with husbands with tones of willingness, empowerment and collaborative effort than subservience and violation (Mandisa, interview, 2013; Amanda, interview, 2014). Marriage, for most participants in this cluster, did not limit their autonomy and ability to make decisions in their businesses although the decision-making process was not a smooth one. By contrast, their unmarried counterparts, who were divorced, never married and widowed, had much more leeway in decision-making, as they did not report to anyone. Noluntu represented the views of the other three participants who were not married, when she talked about out autonomy:

> *No, there is no one who give me problems because my money is my money. I own it myself... There is no one who controls me, let me say. I control my own money myself. I make sure that, "now with this money, let me take it and do a certain thing"* (Noluntu, interview, 2013).

Trading businesses thus provided autonomy and empowerment for participants. It was also noteworthy that these participants in this cluster gained their business skills from trading rather than external business training evident in the most transformed cluster. Participants voiced common narratives about trading and skills training emanating informally from what they had learnt from the community and family. Sofia was the only exception in this cluster, as she sought empowerment opportunities, through community-based and private institutions, in business management, baking and selling skills, as well as financial support. For the moderately transformed participants, networks for enhancing businesses were therefore very limited. Like the most transformed cluster, they also reported a lack of local and national state support for skills development and opportunities for small traders

In relation to fostering cultural identity by practicing social values, like the most enabled cluster, participants in this cluster incorporated values of *ubuntu*, such as warmth and friendliness in serving customers, interdependent and mutually supportive relationships, and respect in dealing with customers and fellow traders. Their trading businesses provided them with opportunities to fulfil their sense of cultural identity while generating income. The trading space also fulfilled other wellbeing outcomes as it gave them opportunities to socialise. Three out of seven participants in this cluster sold traditional food, such as traditional stews, samp and beans, steamed bread, pork chops, and free-range chickens, which appealed to customers (Mandisa, interview, 2013; Sofia, interview, 2014; Thobeka, interview, 2014). Catering businesses provided social spaces for interacting in typically traditional settings. Thobeka's traditional cuisine restaurant offered a typical traditional rural home setting where people reminisced about their social and cultural issues. There was almost a nostalgic preservation of culture; a resistance to modernity encapsulated in a single moment of capturing the past through

communal eating of traditional food in humble settings. This was an evident demonstration of routinised cultural practices that preserved traditional values. Furthermore, participants kept ties with families in rural Eastern Cape by sending remittances regularly to support them and to maintain their rural homes.

Wellbeing outcomes relating to peaceful and supportive familial and social relationships emanating from operating trading businesses resembled the most transformed cluster. The four married participants (Sofia, Amanda, Asanda, and Mandisa) reported mutually supportive relationships with their husbands and worked collaboratively. Family members perceived trading businesses as productive, contributing to family wellbeing. The three unmarried participants (Thobeka, Tumeka, Noluntu) enjoyed mutually supportive relationships with extended family members and children they lived with.

The trading business also provided opportunities for supportive and interdependent relationships with fellow traders, with whom they shared similar backgrounds. Although such relationships were not perfect, they were generally positive and supportive in this cluster. All participants in this cluster reported their appreciation for the respectful, supportive and caring relationships that they enjoyed with one another through *stokvels*, burial societies and the church networks. For example, in a quotation on section 8.4.4 of chapter eight, Amanda related how she and Nina supported each other at their trading sites. Their trading businesses reinforced these relationships, as they generated the income needed to maintain the networks.

9.7 Least enabled cluster

Eight of 25 participants achieved the least wellbeing outcomes compared to the rest of the participants. When comparing their estimated monthly income figures these eight participants' generated less than R2 000. There was less evidence of income-related outcomes, such as educating children beyond primary school or high school and providing for family material needs. Sending remittances to rural Eastern Cape and purchasing some assets that benefitted their lives and businesses, were less evident in this cluster. Most of these participants' operated their businesses primarily to subsist and were struggling, hence they found it even more difficulty to provide materially for their families as their income was thinly spread among competing expenses. (Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Constance, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Noxolo, interview, 2014). Because of the low cash flows, participants found it difficult to save. Of the nine participants in this cluster, only three stated that they had regular savings of R50 to R100 weekly (Noxolo, interview, 2014; Zoleka,

interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2013). Although given their circumstances this is remarkable. Nevertheless, these savings were substantially less than the other two clusters. Pamela explained that while she understands the value of saving, she simply could not afford to save regularly:

> *No, I do not want [to join a* stokvel*]. I am looking at this business, because this year it is not running well... I will not be able to save because this business of mine is very stressful. I thought I must not join. I did not want something that would stress me… They want you to bring in the* stokvel *money every Sunday. If I do not bring it, it doubles up the following week* (Pamela, interview, 2014).

There was also more evidence in this cluster of participants with financial difficulties and overdue debts (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Victoria, interview, 2013). Based on the criteria for assessing income-generation and their ability to support the family materially, participants in the least transformed cluster fared badly.

Granted, these eight participants achieved relative empowerment, such as skills gained through informal trading, some independence, self-reliance, and income-earning opportunities in the context of scarce jobs. They built social capital networks through traders' associations, although they were locally-based in the community and limited (Linontha, interview, 2013; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014). For example, after coming to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape in the 1990s without secondary education or prior relevant work experience, Nolufefe (Interview 2014) asserted her autonomy in running her business and making decisions by creating firm social/family boundaries to regulate relations, especially in managing her husband who had drinking problem (see section 7.6.3 chapter 7).

In the absence of a formal education and skills training, the trading business for Nolufefe became an empowering opportunity which equipped her with decision-making skills and power. This included seeking intervention from the police to deal with her husband's domestic abuse of her. When I asked her views about what cultural traditions say regarding reporting her husband to the police, she stated:

> *I do not have time for traditions when I am living in pain. Traditional things, I do not care about that. I experience the drunkenness and silliness* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

Nolufefe demonstrates how her business autonomy and decision-making transcended her trading space as she challenged traditions and patriarchal domination and violence.

Traders associations provided forms of empowerment to participants through acquisition of social capital. Although there was no evidence in this cluster of participants' forming external

business networks beyond the local stokvels, churches and traders' associations in the community they spoke positively about them. Traders associations gave women traders much needed safety to trade in certain designated public spaces which their association had secured for them. Some traders joined these associations expecting them to negotiate with government for state support, which was yet to materialise.

Despite empowerment opportunities for participants in this cluster, there was a noticeable pattern of limited autonomy compared to the other clusters. Because income generated by them was limited to subsistence level, participants in this cluster could not afford to pay for assistants or get family support when they needed time off to pursue other empowering socio-economic activities. For example, Phatiswa explained why she failed to follow up on procuring membership application documents required to join Old Mutual micro lending group with other women:

> *They [Old Mutual] said we should have a name for our thing [group], and then we were supposed to go to these places [to register documents]. Then I told Bongi, I would not be able to go... Because it involves travelling and now there should be food in the house, you understand. Because I have debts... I did not carry on... I am afraid to apply when I have debt because I cannot get a loan with a debt… How do I pay my current debt when I struggle with one bucket of muffins?* (Phatiswa, interview, 2013).

Low income exacerbated by debts made it difficult for most participants in this cluster to seek empowerment opportunities linked to financing their business plans (Constance, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Zoleka, interview, 2014). For others the problem was not debt, but they were constrained by their own limited ambitions, as stated by Nolufefe:

> *I do it [trading] to feed my family. I do not have goals for cars and other things… There is need to cook in the house. Yah that is my goal. … I stopped selling offal… I felt that the offal was too heavy to carry the offal on the head and I stopped... I was tired of standing [for long hours] at the market. I was tired of standing because I did not have a car* (Nolufefe, interview, 2014).

Although Nolufefe denied needing a car for her business, her comment about being tired of travelling and carrying heavy *offal* on her head indicated that she might have benefited from one. While participants gained some autonomy and empowerment, their own transformation was limited by their inability to work strategically to overcome constraints and barriers. Inevitably, participants in this cluster tended to expect the government and traders' associations to support them with money; whereas, in the other two clusters, participants were more inclined to rely on their own ingenuity, garnering support from families and seeking external organisations' support to sharpen their skills. Furthermore, there was no evidence of participants in this cluster seeking skills training opportunities through private, government and non-governmental organisations.

Like their counterparts in the other clusters, these eight participants practiced social values, such as respect, friendliness, being sociable, diligence, perseverance, and warmth when dealing with customers and fellow traders. They learnt these qualities and values from socialisation processes. Reflecting on ways they grew up, participants drew on what Giddens refer to as "cultural toolkit" to make a living. (Zoleka, interview, 2014; Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013, Linomtha, interview, 2014). Some participants learnt the basics about trading from observing others trading in the community (Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Noxolo, 2014; Pamela, interview, 2014). Common narratives among participants in this cluster emphasised the dignity and value of working to provide for oneself and one's family/community thereby affirming self-reliance that is an integral part of African traditional culture.

Links to rural village culture are few in this cluster. Only Pamela reported sending remittances to maintain the rural homestead and domestic animals despite her struggles to save. It was not clear why most participants in this cluster did not maintain rural ties. One explanation is that four of the participants in this cluster were second or third -generation urban residents of Langa, whose parents did not consider rural homes significant in their lives or could not afford to keep the family ties by sending remittances (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Zoleka; interview, 2014; Linomtha, interview, 2014). Other than Pamela, the other three participants (Noxolo, Nolufefe, Victoria) were first-generation Langa residents, but they did not seem keen on keeping ties with their rural homes. When I asked Nolufefe about her goals, she gave an example of buying a cow or sheep for the rural home and said:

> *No, if I buy a cow, who will keep it when I am here? Think, whom do I buy it for? I would do it to only feed the stomach*" (Nolufefe, interview, 2014)

While the reasons for not keeping ties with the rural Eastern Cape were not clear for most participants in this cluster, what was clear was that there was a pattern of non-commitment to their rural homes, which was atypical of participants in the most transformed and moderately transformed clusters. Additionally, the four participants who looked after extended family members said they were overburdened with expenses and family conflict which stifled their wellbeing (Constance, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014).

In constructing narratives about how their families felt about the trading businesses, responses were characterised by the statement: "They *love it because they know they get fed from it*." However, there was almost no evidence of these same families supporting their breadwinners'

businesses. Except for Linomtha, who got much support from her husband, five of the eight participants reported getting very limited support from their families in the form of specific tasks such as setting up the trading stall, making fire for a braai, running errands (Pamela, interview, 2014; Zoleka, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview, 2014; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013). For example, while Noxolo's daughter helped with selling cooked food by hawking, she occasionally felt exhausted from the numerous trading-related duties, such as travelling long distances by public transport to purchase supplies and hawking on the streets. She had to pay neighbouring children to help wash dishes, reducing her meagre income further.

> *It is not easy, you get tired [of selling] ... I persevere, when I feel that no, now I am tired, I call any child from outside, if none of my children are in the house. I would say, "Wash my dishes, my child [from the neighbourhood], when you finish I will give you R5" ... and give her" Or R10. I would say, "Here take, my child, you have helped me* (Noxolo, interview, 2014).

Arguably, Noxolo got some form of support from her children but it was not always there and she had to resort to paying neighbours' children to get support at times, thereby depleting her already low income, as she sold low-priced food items. There was ample evidence from this cluster of some participants not processing applications for social grants for which they qualified. Reasons varied from lacking time and knowledge to apply for the grants (Victoria, interview, 2013; Noxolo, interview, 2014; Phatiswa, interview, 2013; Constance, interview, 2014). Two participants, Victoria and Constance, reported not only lacking familial support but also strained familial relationships with their extended family members and children living with them. They reported feeling overwhelmed by expenses, crowdedness and conflict (Constance, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013).

There was more evidence in this cluster for participants expressing mistrust in getting and giving support to others, feelings of being overlooked and neglected by others, suspicions of withholding information and general disunity (Zoleka, interview, 2014; Victoria, interview, 2013; Pamela, interview, 2014; Nolufefe, interview , 2014). This further demonstrated that the trading businesses did not always help foster peaceful and mutually supportive relationships in this cluster.

Chapter 10| Profiles emerging from the findings

This chapter builds on the preceding chapters, which have dealt with the dimensions of agency in order to answer the central research question, *How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township exercise agency in ways in which they respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?* Here I present the finalised profiles generated by participant/case clustering that emerged from higher levels of analysis of the data that was derived from interviews and observations in the field. The preceding chapters focused on the thematic analysis of clusters of participants in relation to how they exercised individual dimensions of agency only. It was premature to discuss profiles of participants at that point because they were not established yet. From the patterns in the data and clustering of cases as part of the inductive approach of developing themes to build the evidence, I can now develop profiles. Profiling demonstrates my commitment to the inductive approach I have used throughout the study. Had I gone straight to presenting profiles, I would have lost nuances from the organic process. Although the profiles are neither deterministic nor neatly constructed because not every participant is fixed in a particular profile *per se*, they have helped locate participants along a continuum of agency as enablement. Thus, they demonstrate the crucial role of agency by showing participants' responsive behaviours to opportunities and constraints. I begin by presenting the interconnectedness of dimensions in the overall scheme of agency; this is followed by a matrix of profiles developed from the clusters of participants which show where participants fit into the spectrum of agency.

10.1 Revisiting the dimensions

Figure 10.1 below presents a flow chart which demonstrates the interconnectedness of the five dimensions of agency. Each dimension plays a part in influencing social actors to intervene in circumstances where they face structural constraints or opportunities. **Reflexivity** refers to a person reflecting on life circumstances and social milieu. Once concientised about their problems, they apply **rationality**, that is, by reasoning they calculate strategies to change their circumstances. **Motivation** in the form of personal motives drive them to pursue goals. They then **act** purposively with the intention of changing their circumstances, and so bring about **transformation** or lack thereof. The process can be iterative and need not necessarily proceed in a fixed order.

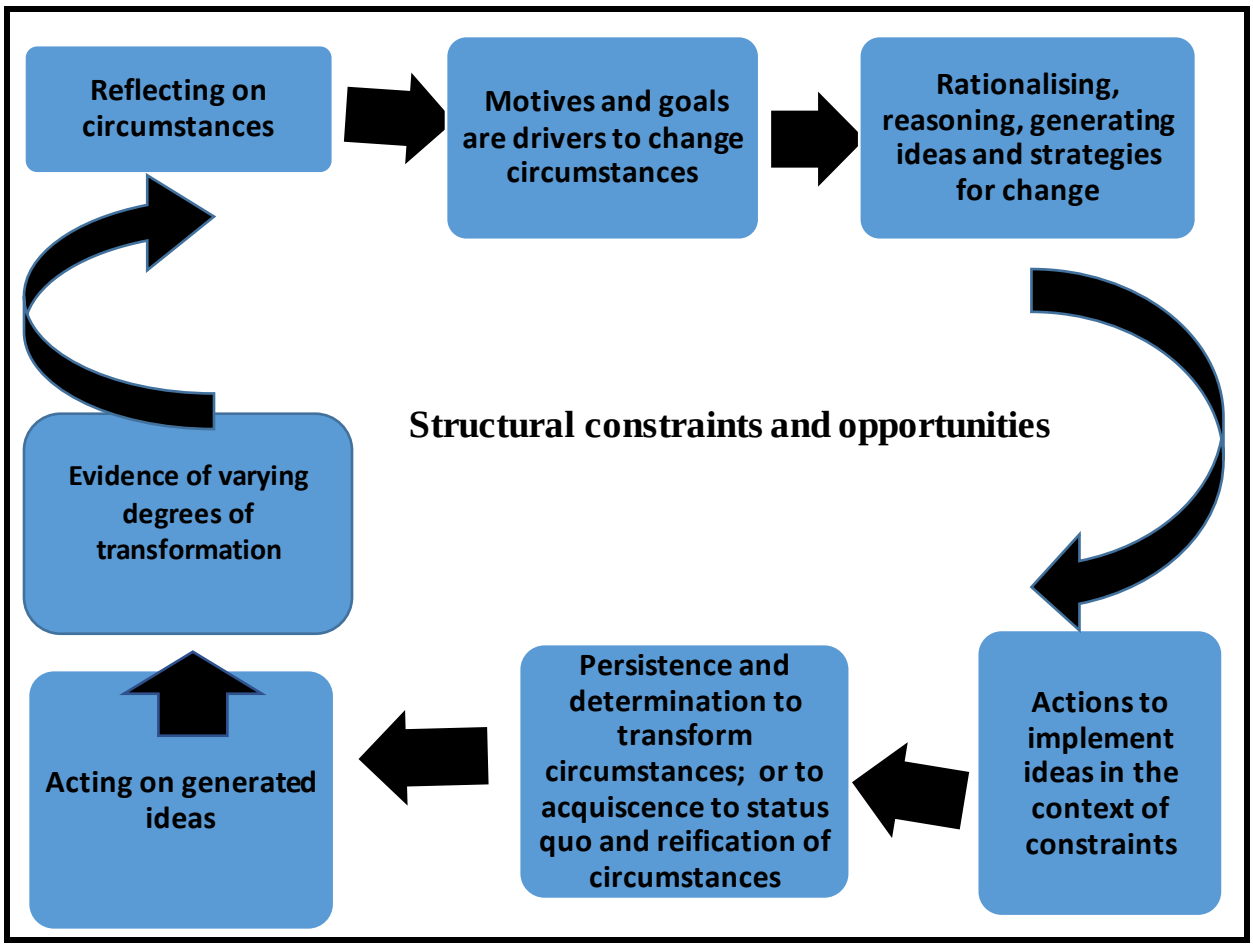


Figure 10.1 Process demonstrating how human agents engage in decision-making leading to transformation or lack thereof.

While all the participants had the inherent capacity to follow these processes through, their efforts manifested varying degrees of enablement. In each of the five dimensions of agency, three clusters of enablement namely, most enabling, moderately enabling and least enabling emerged. In Table 10.1 below, I briefly summarise the findings that describe the clustering of cases and their features for each individual dimension and explain how the profiles were generated from these clusters.

Table 10.1 Matrix showing extent of enablement across five dimensions of agency

Dimension of Agency	Most enabled profile	Moderately enabled Profile	Least enabled profile
Reflexivity Participants' ability to appraise self, others and the broader environment and to apply the knowledge they have acquired. Reflections were assessed in relation to self-efficacy, trading environment and broader environment including opportunities and constraints, and relationships with significant others.	Tended to demonstrate ability to tap into knowledge about self-efficacy, social milieu and the broader trading environment which influenced trading and then applied it in ways that sustained their businesses. For example, knowledge of wholesale suppliers and then utilising them. Reflections on relationships with significant others were mostly supportive and positive.	Inclined to demonstrate limited knowledge and awareness of own skills and abilities, social milieu and broader trading environment. They struggled to apply what they had learnt from the social milieu and broader trading environment in ways that promoted their businesses For example, minimal participation in skills development opportunities organised by outside parties. Positive reflections on relationships with significant others.	Demonstrated knowledge and awareness of own skills and abilities but tended to follow maladaptive and disenabling practices in business. They struggled to tap into opportunities and navigate constraints in the broader trading environment. Mostly negative reflections on relationships with significant others which were fraught with mistrust, pessimism and conflict.
	Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nosipho, Selethu, Zukiswa, Thelma, Nozuko	Amanda, Tumeka, Noluntu, Thobeka, Asanda, Noxolo, Sofia, Nina*, Khetiwe*, Mandisa, Linomtha*	Constance, Phatiswa, Zoleka, Victoria, Nolufefe, Pamela
Motivation Participants' internal drive that prompted them to open trading businesses. Goals for running businesses manifested as the drive to satisfy different needs, such as, protection and security, autonomy and independence, passion and social identity.	Longer-term goal orientation in relation to protection-seeking and security needs beyond meeting daily subsistence needs, e.g. more return on investments (up to three years), business expansion, etc. Sense of autonomy and passion directed towards entire business. Tended to hold in balance social values and obligations with personal goals and business interests. For example, without compromising their own goals, they fulfil cultural values by supporting extended family, while also setting firm boundaries about whom they would support.	Goal orientation was to go beyond meeting subsistence needs, they look to the medium-term for a return on investment, e.g. annual savings, interim plans to improve the business and maintain cash flow; not focused on expanding the business. Autonomy and independence expressed in terms of being self-reliant rather than on owning a business. Passion directed at specific tasks. Struggled to set boundaries between social values and personal goals.	Goal orientation limited to meeting subsistence needs. Protection and security needs were directed mainly at seeking income and avoiding falling back into poverty. Sense of autonomy and independence expressed in terms of avoiding borrowing money from others to meet daily needs. Passion and creativity directed at specific tasks such as cooking and not on business ownership. Tended to emphasise cultural values over business skills.
	Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nina, Nosipho, Thelma, Selethu, Zukiswa, Khetiwe, Nozuko	Amanda, Noluntu, Asanda, Thobeka, Sofia, Tumeka,	Constance, Linomtha, Phatiswa, Victoria, Pamela, Zoleka, Noxolo, Nolufefe, Mandisa

Rationality Participants' expressed reasoning and thinking behind decisions made about trading businesses. Evidence of rationality in the data was through short-term, medium term and long-term horizons of thinking, problem-solving strategies and balancing individual and collective thinking.	Long-range focus. Well-calculated business decisions. Problem-solving strategies derived from positive thinking and openness to new and innovative ideas. For example, participants reasoned about maximising sales and profit by selling different varieties of products. Collaborative interdependent relationships were valued and honoured without allowing relationships to compromise profit.	Tended to focus on the mid-term because thinking was directed at interim operational plans rather than on strategic longer-term planning Showed some positive thinking and optimism about the success of their businesses. They were however limited in making calculative decisions and problem solving strategies. Tended to lack innovative ideas. They valued interdependent relationships, but struggled with boundary-setting to protect business interests.	Short-term thinking that focused on immediate needs. Poor problem-solving strategies that tended to be rigid and were not open to new ideas. For example, participants tended to be satisfied with generating the absolute minimum profit. Tended to prioritise social obligations over business interests, and, therefore, struggled with boundary setting.
	Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nosipho, Nozuko, Selethu, Nina, Khetiwe, Thelma	Amanda, Noluntu, Tumeka, Sofia, Thobeka, Mandisa, Zukiswa*	Constance, Linomtha, Phatiswa, Nolufefe Noxolo, Pamela, Zoleka, Victoria, Asanda#
Purposive Actions Participants' actions related to trading businesses and social relations that helped sustain their businesses; were assessed in relation to business-, family- and community-orientated actions.	Strategic and operational strategies of these participants demonstrated most evidence of enabling business sustainability. Business trading guided by a philosophy of embedding social values that honoured stakeholders and significant others, while, at the same time, promoting business interests. For example, social responsiveness to the community by training younger women how to trade. Least evidence of disenabling actions.	Some evidence of actions enabling business sustainability, e.g. cost-effective purchasing strategies and managing finances well, maintaining a regular but lower level of savings. Limitations included not stocking adequately and selling a smaller variety of products. Social values incorporated in trading practice by valuing relationships with significant others but in ways that did not always promote business interests. For example, not seeking personal and business development opportunities.	Least evidence of business-enabling actions. Operational strategies tended not to be cost-effective and profitable. For example, purchasing supplies from retail shops, selling a smaller variety of products which were of low-value. Financial management also poor with no or little savings due to low sales. Some evidence of practicing good social relations with and valuing customers and fellow traders, but also evidence of more frequent conflict and maladaptive conflict resolution methods. Social networks limited to community organisations, such as churches, burial societies and traders' associations.
	Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Nosipho, Nozuko, Selethu, Nina, Khetiwe, Zukiswa, Thelma	Amanda, Noluntu, Tumeka, Sofia, Thobeka, Mandisa	Constance, Linomtha, Phatiswa, Nolufefe, Noxolo, Pamela, Zoleka, Victoria, Asanda#

Evidence of transformation Transformation encompassed making a difference to pre-existing circumstances through own actions. Evidence of transformation related to: generating income and supporting family materially; practicing social values and reinforcing cultural identity; enjoying family and social relationships and pursuing personal development opportunities because they helped with operating trading businesses.	Generated the most income of over R4 000 per month. Provided for families beyond subsistence needs. Trading enabled the practice of cultural values like maintaining ties with rural homes by sending remittances and paying for cultural rituals. Enjoyed peaceful and supportive familial relationships as trading businesses provided for most needs. Gained more autonomy in decision-making. For example, only in this cluster did some participants seek more income-earning career paths like completing Matric and getting tertiary education for themselves.	Generated lower income between R2 000 and R3 000 per month and provided for subsistence and certain other needs. Trading enabled practice of social values like supporting extended family members though that often depleted income in most cases. They sent remittances to Eastern Cape and related well with customers and other traders. Enjoyed peaceful and supportive familial relationships. Evidence of empowerment was the autonomy and independent decision-making that they gained in running their businesses. Skills development limited to family and community informal training, rather than taking up external formal skills training opportunities.	The least income generated below R2 000 per month. Trading enabled practice of social values, but tended to be limited, for example, while caring for extended family members, they narrated feelings of being overwhelmed and overburdened. No evidence of maintaining ties with their rural folk. Some evidence of family support but more often, evidence of conflict-laden relationships with family, customers and fellow traders. Limited autonomy in decision-making exacerbated by smallness of income.
	Zukiswa, Selethu, Lebo, Doris, Nina, Nosipho, Bongi, Nozuko, Khetiwe, Thelma	Thobeka, Sofia, Noluntu, Tumeka, Mandisa, Asanda, Amanda	Constance, Phatiswa, Linomtha, Zoleka, Pamela, Nolufefe, Victoria, Noxolo
General pattern of opportunities	Familial circumstances, such as being second-generation Langa residents, provided resources and delivered more opportunities. Previous relevant work experience equipped them with skills and starting capital. Educational attainment a distinct opportunity as more participants had Matric.	Families provided social arrangements in Sen's typology through financial support, helping at trading stalls, stand assistance with household activities. The Community provided opportunities through the, market, informal skills training and social networks. Participants had lesser educational attainment.	Social arrangements through the community providing social networks, market ideas, and traders' associations providing networking and motivational opportunities. Five participants in this cluster never worked in any company. . The three who did had work experience not linked to trading.
General pattern of constraints	Constraints associated with power were linked to jealousy of insecure men (when the women traders earned more than them) or of some extended family members or neighbours; and from the competition for customers.	Operational related and financial constraints included cash flow problems, insufficient capital for purchasing supplies or utensils, to carry out maintenance or repairs or meet other business expenses. Stresses	Constraints within the family associated with power related to finances, sharing home space, intergenerational conflicts and general lack of support. Family circumstance which were limiting, were that most households were headed by a

		around operational constraints were, for example, transport, obtaining trading space, perishability of some products and getting time off from work to do other social and economic activities. Limiting family circumstances were family emergencies, supporting extended family members and unemployed adults living in the same house.	single woman who struggled to balance domestic duties and running a trading business by herself. Material constraints were related to chronic illnesses and the physical strain of trading- activities. Financial constraints were little money to buy stock, cash flow problems, difficulty in keeping up savings and low demand for products. To the inadequacy of the income from the business was added the drain of supporting extended family.
Participants in respective profiles	Bongi, Doris, Lebo, Selethu, Nosipho, Nozuko, Zukiswa*, Khetiwe*, Nina*, Thelma	Amanda, Noluntu, Thobeka, Sofia, Tumeka, Mandisa, Asanda#	Constance, Phatiswa, Victoria, Nolufefe, Pamela, Zoleka, Noxolo, Linomtha*

Note:

*** These cases deviated once from their final profile**

 # These cases deviated twice from their final profile

10.2 Profiling

After I consolidated the enablement clusters of the participants, I then generated profiles by positioning each participant on a continuum of enablement which I had based on the amalgamated dimensions of agency in order to see which participants gravitated towards the similar patterns of responsive agency behaviours. Table 10.1 above shows the participants finally clustering into three profiles which were labelled "most enabled", "moderately enabled" and "least enabled". The criteria used to assign participants to the final profiles allowed me to include participants in a specific profile when they did not deviate more than twice when appearing in clusters of the specific dimensions characteristic of that profile. For example, Zukiswa located in the "moderately enabled" cluster in relation to rationality, thereby deviating only once from the characteristics of the most enabled cluster. For the other four dimensions she qualified to be included in the "most enabled" cluster and therefore she located in the most enabled profile. Another example is Asanda who deviated twice from the characteristics of the moderately enabled by locating in the least enabled cluster according to the dimensions of rationality and purposive action. By not deviating more than twice, she finally located in the moderately enabled profile. The note at the bottom of Table 10.1 records all the participants who deviated once or twice from their final profile.

Importantly, participant clustering demonstrated patterns and not rigidities. The final profiles therefore represent tendencies and aggregations in the clusters. They are not deterministic, but rather depend on the extent of enablement based on a holistic assessment across all five dimensions of agency. As participants were in the process of becoming and transitioning looking for better opportunities whilst at the same time contending with constraints, they are likely to move from one cluster to the another, hence the need to identify both agentic and structural aspects that reinforce or diminish agency. Had the sample been bigger, there would have been more evidence of participants moving between or even falling between clusters. Furthermore, individual cases can move from one profile to another as the extent of their enablement across the dimensions changes over time.

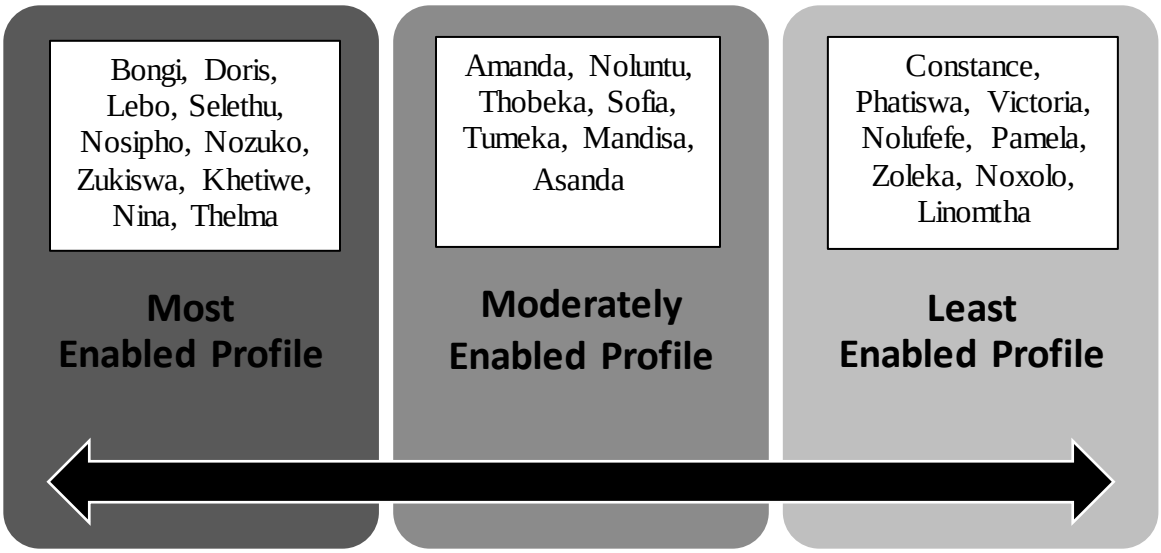


Figure 10.2. Profiles of participants along a continuum of enablement

10.2.1 Most enabled profile

In the most enabled profile, ten participants, namely, Bongi, Nosipho, Doris, Lebo, Selethu, Nozuko, Zukiswa, Khetiwe, Nina and Thelma demonstrated consistently higher levels of enablement relative to the other participants on the five dimensions of agency and deviated no more than twice from the characteristic features of the cluster. For example, cumulatively this the participants in this cluster demonstrated noticeable reflexivity. They showed awareness of skills and attributes and knowledge about the broader trading environment. Their motivation to set a higher return on investment as a goal required that they delay gratification of spending money as part of their strategic long-range thinking. These participants acted purposively so that they could balance actions that involved business, family and community in ways that sustained their businesses. Because of their ability to navigate constraints, tap into opportunities and exercise all the dimensions of agency so that they worked together to promote the successful running of their businesses, they achieved more wellbeing outcomes than their counterparts in the other two profiles.

However, four participants exhibited some characteristics from profiles other than the one in which they were located. For example, with respect to reflexivity, Khetiwe and Nina were moderately enabled because of their limited awareness of the broader trading environment, but, on the other hand, regarding the other four dimensions, they were most enabled. Khetiwe, for example, was astute in the way she exercised rationality by having a long-range focus by having plans to expand her business and even to opening other businesses. She was highly motivated to meet security and financial goals which led her to act purposively by running other braaiing

businesses, which generated sales of over R5000 per month. However, when it came to reflecting on the broader trading environment and relationships with significant others, she lacked appreciation of the social values associated with interdependences. Fellow traders described her as rude and she asserted her own individualistic approach to trading. She also demonstrated a limited knowledge on some commonly known social and economic aspects that affected her trading such as child support grant application process and requirements. Nonetheless, because of the way she exercised her agency and evidenced enablement with regard to the other four dimensions, she qualified to be included in the most enabled profile.

10.2.2 Moderately enabled profile

In relation to the five dimensions of agency, seven participants, namely, Amanda, Noluntu, Thobeka, Sofia, Tumeka, Mandisa and Asanda, occupied the middle of the continuum of enablement. Their demonstration of reflexivity showed a pattern of awareness of own skills and attributes, but limited awareness of the broader trading environment, such as market dynamics that promoted business and skills development opportunity. Motivational level was in the medium-term return on investment characterised by goals beyond subsistence needs. Goals were, however, limited to improving business operations rather than more strategic goals like business expansion. Participants' rationality tended to be mid-range focused. They demonstrated limited problem-solving strategies in business operations and were less innovative. Business-orientated actions were evident, but they tended to emphasise family- and community-orientated actions. Due to their moderation in exercising the dimension of agency, participants in the moderately enabled profile generated fewer wellbeing outcomes than those in the most-enabled profile. Income generated was between R2 000 and R3 000. They gained some degree of autonomy in decision-making and met cultural identity needs through incorporating social values in trading businesses.

One participant, Sofia, did not fit neatly into the moderately enabled profile in every respect because she demonstrated a few of the features of the most enabled profile pertaining to purposive actions. For example, she promoted her business by printing flyers, which none of the other participants did. She sought skills development opportunities from an NGO outside Langa thereby building external networks that enhanced her business. She set clear boundaries between social and business interests. However, when weighing up the evidence in her case, there was more evidence pointing towards disenabling actions, such as purchasing supplies from retail shops instead of wholesalers, thereby limiting her profit. She located her business

in a quiet and isolated section of Langa thereby limiting sales. Because she sold confectionaries with high costs but low prices, she ended up closing her bakery and focused on the clothing business. This demonstrates that while some participants located in a specific profile, they could move up the spectrum with intervention and support.

10.2.3 Least enabled profile

Eight participants qualified for the least enabled profile, namely, Constance, Phatiswa, Nolufefe, Victoria, Zoleka, Pamela, Noxolo and Linomtha, occupying the third position along the spectrum of enablement. Least enabled participants demonstrated rationality through patterns of incongruence in expressed skills and attributes alongside maladaptive practices. They struggled to utilise knowledge tapped from broader trading business, navigate constraints and tap into opportunities. Their motivational level was characterised by meeting immediate subsistence needs. Rationality took a short-term focus of immediate consumption for survival (from hand to mouth), rigid and problem solving and decision-making strategies that lacked innovation and yielded lower returns on investment. Purposive actions were characterised by disenabling business-orientated actions that were mostly not cost effective. Family- and community-orientated actions showed mixed evidence of positive relationship-building actions with more of maladaptive conflict-ridden actions. Ultimately, the least-enabled participants achieved the least wellbeing outcomes of the three profiles with income less than R2 000, limited practice of social values and less autonomy in decision-making. Once again, some participants, namely Linomtha, Pamela and Noxolo, did fit in this profile in every respect. Despite limited rationality, purposive actions, motivation and evidence of transformation by focusing on short-term orientation, low sales, and lack of savings and imbalance of social obligations and business interests, their reflections showed positive indications of enablement. For example, Linomtha cited the state-driven entrepreneurial policy of *Vukuzenzele* and Noxolo demonstrated awareness of the importance of her leadership position in the Langa Business Forum Traders Association in the community. They valued and honoured interdependent relationships with significant others, and had knowledge of market suppliers and awareness of own skills and attributes. However, reflexivity alone was not sufficient to effect an ultimate change in their wellbeing outcomes, as action and transformation were fundamental to agency, hence their location in the least enabled profile.

10.3 Summary of constraints linked to profiles

Bazeley (2013) and Yin (2009) both emphasise the importance of profiling case studies by using individual case summaries to build a more coherent picture of a bigger case study. Below, I present constraints that were common to all the profiles followed by general patterns of constraints specific to respective profiles.

10.3.1 Structural constraints common to all profiles.

Based on participants' biographies, structural constraints that were universal to all participants were class-related, particularly disrupted schooling that predisposed them to poverty. In addition, employment in informal jobs exposed them to poor working conditions and low-paying jobs pushing them to open trading businesses. There were also gender-based constraints, such as unequal distribution of reproductive roles and income in households, as traders tried to balance domestic duties and trading. Cash flow problems in low-peak seasons were common to all participants, as was a lack of municipal support in accessing trading facilities and other trading-related amenities. All participants experienced constraints associated with power from customers, fellow traders, residents and family members, although perpetrators were more distinct in some profiles than others. Material constraints relating to physical pain caused by exhaustion from the stresses of trading activities and chronic illnesses were common to all clusters.

10.3.2 Most enabled profiles

In addition to the common constraints, the general pattern of constraints in this profile pertained broadly to constraints associated with power in families and trading sites. All husbands but one of the five married traders were main providers, creating an unintended consequence of some men becoming insecure and jealous as their wives became more successful. Some extended family members, neighbours and competitive fellow traders abused their relational power or influence by making unreasonable monetary or merchandise demands.

10.3.3 Moderately enabled profile

In this profile, the most pronounced constraints pertained broadly to operational constraints and financial constraints linked to cash flow problems; lack of capital for purchasing supplies, utensils, transport, appliances, ingredients and other business expenses. Other operational constraints included perishability of some products and getting time off from work. Familial

circumstances, such as crises and supporting extended family and unemployed adults living in the same house and depleting income, constrained participants in this profile.

10.3.4 Least enabled profile

The most pronounced constraints in this profile revolved around constraints associated with power, material and structural constraints. Six of the eight participants reported family members tending to conflict on finances, sharing space, generational differences and general lack of support. This was exacerbated by the struggles of single motherhood (6/8) relating to financial constraints, balancing domestic duties and trading. Chronic illnesses, such as arthritis, high blood pressure, diabetes and sore legs, as well as exhaustion and the physical strain of trading-related activities were prominent due to lack of familial support.

10.4 Summary of structural opportunities linked to profiles

10.4.1 Common opportunities among participants

All participants had equal access to economic facilities through market mechanisms of supply and demand offered by suppliers, farmers, wholesalers and Langa community as a market. Similarly, protective security was equally available through various welfare support grants offered by the Department of Social Development. Social arrangements provided by community arrangements, such as *stokvels* and families providing various opportunities, such as informal training, prior experience in running businesses, socialisation, etc. Single-motherhood created opportunities for autonomous decision-making, whilst being married brought a measure of spousal support mingled with power-related constraints. In addition, temporality (where some participants operated businesses for more than 20 years, thus providing experience), established market and trading stalls created opportunities.

10.4.2 Most enabled profile

In this profile, the context-specific opportunities derive from family circumstance. For example, six of the ten participants were second-generation Langa residents. They had the advantage of being better resourced than those in the other two profiles, (namely, better housing, some starting capital and had inherited established trading businesses). The latter were mostly first-generation rural migrants who did not benefit from the same kind of support. In addition, the most-enabled profile had fewer extended family members to support hence their income was not as depleted by extended family members as the least and moderately enabled profiles. In addition, the most enabled profile previously worked in companies or other

organisations this experience had provided these participants with appropriate skills or starting capital. Those in in this profile had received a better education than those other two profiles, either because they had more schooling or they had a post-Matric qualification, three out of the eight participants had post-Matric qualifications, one had Matric and four had passed Grade 10. These opportunities alone were not the only source of enablement, those in the most enabled profile were more driven to exercise agency than those in the other profiles.

10.4.3 Moderately enabled profile

The most pronounced structural opportunities shown in this profile come from social arrangements, such as family support in the trading business, household activities and community support. Four out of seven participants lived in council houses which are close to their trading sites. As only three of the seven participants had Matric, and the remaining four stayed in school until they reached between Grade 7 to 10, educational attainment provided fewer opportunities than in the case of the most enabled cluster. Participants' achievements from trading were limited by the fewer opportunities compared to the above profile.

10.4.4 Least enabled profile

The community providing social networks, market ideas and traders' associations offered networking and motivational opportunities. Five out of the eight participants in this cluster never worked in companies to gain starting capital but rather, learnt trading from families and the community who taught them trading skills. Participants in this profile had the least number of opportunities, for example, little work experience as traders and most had not completed 12 years of schooling. One of the eight had Matric and the rest had schooling up to Grade 7 or Grade 10. Limitations for enablement emanated from both the way they exercised agency, lesser number of opportunities and more constraining situations. However, with appropriate assistance some of these participants could become better traders. In the chapter that follows, I discuss and reflect on the findings.

Chapter 11| Discussion of key findings

Agency is pivotal to development and the attainment of wellbeing. By exercising agency, some women traders in my study gained autonomy in decision-making for example. Development literature from the global South and United Nations reports often emphasise the constraints that women living in poverty experience, which downplays the role of individual agency in human development (see chapter 1). So far, I have established that the way participants engaged with the dimensions of agency was neither neat nor uniform. Findings demonstrated the variations in degrees of enablement, as well as the complex trajectories followed by participants in their quest to transform their circumstances.

11.1 Summary of key findings

To capture this variation and complexity, at a more abstract analytical level, I composed three profiles ('most enabled', 'moderately enabled' and 'least enabled' profiles). These profiles underpin this chapter, which is divided into four sections, grouped according to key findings that contribute to broader entrepreneurial development discourses and debates pertaining to marginalised women. The four sections are:

- Agency lessons from profiling
- Reflexivity and enablement
- Structure and agency as mutually constitutive
- Resistance to patriarchy and cultural norms

Firstly, 'Agency lessons from profiling' relates to what we learn about agency from the profiles. The discussion is structured around two questions: (1) what was it about the most enabled profile that made them more astute than the other two profiles? (2) What needs to happen in the other less enabled profiles to make them more enabled or enhance their capabilities? The **second** key finding about 'reflexivity and enablement' suggests that reflexivity, as a dimension of agency, appears to be fluid and malleable. The fluidity relates to temporality; events that spanned across time-space contexts that shaped participants' schemas and frames of reference. These influenced actions and decisions as dictated by various needs. The malleability of reflexivity allows participants to draw from past and new learning experiences as they adapted to current needs. The **third** finding posits "structure and agency

as mutually constitutive". I argue that, while all the women traders demonstrated an inherent capacity to exercise agency, they did so with varying degrees of enablement influenced by their context-specific structural constraints and opportunities. This shows that, while agency was evidently a crucial factor in their achieving wellbeing, on their own, these women traders could not effect change outside the influence of social structures. **Lastly**, 'resistance to patriarchy and cultural norms', as a key finding, pertains to women traders' resistance to negative sanctions of power emanating from patriarchal domination, traditional cultural practices, and insecurities of spouses/partners when the women traders generate more income than them. This finding is contrary to other entrepreneurial studies on working-class women in Africa, which argue that they tend to acquiesce to patriarchal domination (Chiloane & Mayhew, 2010; Schmahmann, 2007; Hietalahti & Linden, 2006).

11.1.1 Agency lessons from profiling

The three profiles with their varying degrees of enablement provided important insights into development practice. This variation engendered curiosity about what exactly distinguished the three profiles from each other. In discussing this key finding, I also answered the third sub-question of the study: *What do we learn about agency from the ways in which these African women respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?* This knowledge can help us think about how to foster more enablement in the moderately and least enabled profiles. In addition, it shed light on what the most enabled profile participants needs to work at to maintain this status.

To demonstrate how different profiles of participants exercise agency in responding to constraints, Strier and Abdeen's (2009) study provided a comparable case. In my study, the most enabled and moderately enabled profiles reflected similar tendencies in their narratives to those of the Palestinian women entrepreneurs in Strier and Abdeen's (2009) study. Both Palestinian and South African women entrepreneurs were more hopeful and optimistic of their business experiences and plans, despite patriarchal, political and economic constraints. Strier and Abdeen (2009) found that Palestinian women constructed their narratives and experiences of micro-enterprises with a more positive view of their endeavours and future possibilities and a strong sense of agency against structural constraints. By contrast, the Israeli women entrepreneurs, tended to construct their experiences with a sense of resentment and alienation and stressed structural barriers in their narratives (Strier & Abdeen, 2009:576). This was similar to the characteristics of my least-enabled profile, which tended to be relatively pessimistic. In

their construction of trading experiences, participants portrayed a sense of struggling and being overwhelmed as in Strier and Abdeen's (2009:579) study where Israeli women participants also echoed a sense of victimhood, resentment and feelings of exclusion from the Israeli society. The most enabled profile conformed more to McAdams' ideal of 'full humanity' cited in Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2008, which balances both agency and his notion of 'communion'. In this model, characteristics of agency include demonstrating freedom of choice and action, personal mastery of skills, attributes and achievements whereas communion characteristics emphasise supportive interdependent relationships (Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2008). These features characterise the most enabled profile in my study.

Thus, profiles of participants differed in their perception of self in relation to business interests and the role of significant others. The moderately enabled profile participants tended to lean heavily on relational skills, such as the ability to work well with others while neglecting developing other important business management skills that promoted profit. The moderately enabled profiles' neglecting of personal development skills contrasted with the most-enabled profile's tendency to balance both self-orientation (cultivating business related skills, external networks and prioritising profit) alongside collectivistic and collaborative orientation for interdependent support. They sought to achieve personal goals and meet business targets, while maintaining good relations with significant others in a broader systems perspective. The least enabled profile lacked in both relational and business skills. This tension between collectivistic versus individualistic orientation resonate with Talcott Parsons' pattern variables (Graaff, 2003:24), which contrast collective and interdependent tendencies that emphasise harmony with "self-orientated" tendencies that give prominence to efficiency and profit motive. While Parsons's dichotomies of collective- versus self-orientations are criticised for being too simplistic, they help illuminate my findings.

Other studies that analysed narratives of subjective experiences of people in the context of human development in relation to structure and agency are relevant to this discussion (Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2008; Cote, 2010; Hubbard, 2000; Hart, 2000). In Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach's (2008) phenomenological study, they found that, when constructing narratives of their personal trajectories, participants emphasised agentic characteristics, such as freedom of choice, and structures that shaped those trajectories, such as social class, gender, cultural norms and practices. The narratives of the women in the most enabled profile in my study emphasised a combination of agency and structural aspects in shaping their pathways. They did this by acknowledging their own mastery in narratives while at the same time

attributing structural factors, such as cultural values and practices in shaping their trajectories. Therefore, it bears mentioning that a self-concept that allows a person to project confidence in his or her own abilities is key to enablement. Significant stakeholders in the social system are also crucial. In this regard, I propose coaching the least enabled and moderately enabled profiles to cultivate both 'self-orientated' and personal development skills alongside relational skills as they play a crucial role in the sustainability and growth of their businesses.

Goal-orientation was another critical element that distinguished profiles. From the findings, it appears that profiles orientated towards longer-term goals are potentially more life-changing. Conversely, participants whose motivational goals leaned towards short-term orientation are potentially less capacity transforming. In the middle profile, participants' goal-orientation leaned towards the medium-term, which could potentially lead to transformation. Motivational studies in psychology elucidate how motivation levels influence decision making and strategies adopted in pursuing activities (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Development studies among youth in educational settings, for example, have applied the expectancy-value model to investigate factors influencing school achievements among young people. The model's premise is that one's perception of the value of an activity is important in determining one's decision to engage in that activity (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). The rationale of the expectancy-value model is useful in explaining, in my study, how the women traders' perceptions of the value of trading in their lives influenced their goal orientation, strategies, and business orientated actions.

When the most enabled profile set (and implemented) longer-term goals about personal/family security, such as better housing, tertiary education for children and retirement plans, they demonstrated commitment to pursue trading as a career. The most enabled profile participants took concrete steps to generate more income and to realise their goals beyond basic subsistence needs. By contrast, moderate and least enabled profiles viewed trading as either an interim poverty-relief project or confined goals on medium-term plans to service and maintain trading businesses rather than growing their businesses. In addition, when they discussed long-term goals, they were devoid of concrete plans. Similarly, in Strier and Abdeen's (2009:571-572) study, Palestinian women entrepreneurs reported their aspirations from micro-enterprising in terms of contributing to their family status, community and larger society. Thus, they were more holistic, more broadly focused and more communally orientated in their motivations.

Similar to goal orientation as a distinguishing factor among my three profiles, rationality influenced the degree of enablement. The business rationality demonstrated by profiles in my

study is commensurate with Rondinelli's comprehensive rationality, limited rationality and incrementalism applied to social policy (Rondinelli, 1993). Comprehensive rationality is more holistic in decision-making by considering as many factors as possible to maximise efficiency, an inclination showed by the most enabled profile. Limited rationality focuses on some factors perceived as more important, to the exclusion of others, as in the moderately enabled profile. Incrementalism is an approach to problem solving by only trying to solve the symptoms and most pressing immediate needs, as demonstrated by the least enabled profile

The most enabled profile participants distinguished themselves from the moderately enabled and least enabled profile participants by demonstrating rationality in more visionary and strategic thinking according to a set criteria discussed in Chapter seven. For example, by delaying gratification in favour of higher returns on investment, the most enabled profile demonstrated strategic thinking. In their operational strategies and decisions, they prioritised profit maximisation and minimising costs. Women traders in this profile were also more innovative and less afraid to take some risks. Rationality can therefore be cultivated in the lower profiles in relation to establishing long-range vision and strategic decision-making.

Regarding the relationship between economic rationality and decision-making, Hart (2000:183), in a study of rural to urban migrant traders from among the Frafras in Ghana's capital, Accra, made similar observations. Hart (2000:183) reported that one-fifth of 71 entrepreneurs, who were mainly transport operators, made calculative decisions when faced with three options. They had to choose between hiring a driver for their vehicles, driving the vehicles themselves or selling the vehicles to drivers through hire purchase, on instalment plan and a maintenance agreement. The transport operators demonstrated economic rationality by considering risk management, profit maximisation and long-term investment and chose the third option because it made the best business sense. They also employed some assistants and had diverse portfolios of investments, as in my most enabled profile. By comparison, the moderately and least enabled profiles did not make long-term investments or business decisions although they were entrepreneurial in their decisions about purchases, business locations and product ranges. The participants in the least enabled profile, who were not innovative, tended to do business in traditional ways, such as street hawking, and were afraid to take business loans because they did not want debt. While avoiding debt was sensible it constrained the growth of their businesses. Short-term approach to business operations is comparable to Hart's (2000) study. In this study some women beer brewers and other part-time entrepreneurs made trading decisions that compromised profits thus exemplifying incrementalism and short-term

modality of thinking. For example, they gave away a third of their merchandise, which lowered their profits and left them with no money to buy more stock, thus diminishing the sustainability of their businesses. Similarly, Berner, Gomez and Knorringa (2012:385) distinguishes two catergories or profiles of informal traders. On the one hand, survivalist street traders with low status, low skilled trading and subsistence level returns; on the other hand small scale family enterprises that are able to accumulate some capital.

With regard to purposive actions, my findings concur with Emirbayer and Mische (1998:985) in their assertion that not all people are equally projective. For example, realising the impact of unreasonable monetary demands imposed by extended family members on their income and trading businesses, the most enabled participants set firm boundaries without compromising their cultural identities. The moderately enabled profile participants, by placing more emphasis on conformity to cultural values, tended to compromise their income by providing for more extended family members than they could afford. The least enabled profile participants, on the other hand, with no clear projections into the future, neither set boundaries about extended family member support nor enjoyed the normative and cultural experience of mutual interdependent relations. Thus, the ways participants dealt with unintended consequences of actions, such as those embedded in sociological tensions of rational choice perspectives stressing purposive rational action and normative approaches stressing cultural ideals and moral action, impacted on projective capacity to problem-solving. There was a tension between conforming to collective norms and personal and individualistic aspirations (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998: 989; Hart, 2000:192). It appears that the most enabled profile, by managing to balance collective norms and social support while still setting boundaries to achieve personal goals, achieved more than the other profiles. They based their decisions on both rationality and normative practices. Therefore, it is important to educate women traders to understand the importance of boundary setting in business and personal relations.

Similarly, Hart's study on rural-urban immigrant traders in Ghana, found that the top profile entrepreneurs whose trading accumulated assets valued at £10 000, did so by developing strategies that incorporated calculated rationality and purposive actions at the same time as drawing on social capital. They challenged cultural practices that impeded the achievement of their goals and aspirations. To emphasise the importance of agency for people living in poverty, Sen (1999:31), for example, argued that, given a choice between maintaining cultural tradition and poverty on the one hand, and modernity and material prosperity on the other, it is the people

directly affected that should decide for themselves which pertinent wellbeing outcomes to prioritise.

Using the CA to evaluate working-class women's self-help projects, Robeyns (2005b:102) emphasised the importance of helping the women to distinguish between wellbeing and agency goals. By weighing up the trade-offs of seeking wellbeing outcomes derived from altruism and social values and the freedom to choose to pursue such goals or not, they can make rational decisions. Thus, teaching the ability to choose alternative courses of action when faced with competing goals is important. Caring for extended family, for example, might have granted some participants wellbeing outcomes as they conformed to social values and being altruistic, but these choices undermined their income goals. In the case of the moderately and least enabled profiles, they compromised both wellbeing outcomes and agency achievements in that some felt obligated to care for extended families to conform to social values. By so doing, they sometimes compromised their wellbeing and income. In contrast, most enabled profile participants drew boundaries when communal relations compromised their profits, for example, when friends and family tried to exploit them. It is important to bear in mind that the intervention idea suggested here is not to dissuade working-class women from observing their social values, as doing so will be contrary to the ethos of the CA, but rather to help individuals to practice critical consciousness or reflection in relation to their social contexts.

The cumulative effect of profiling in relation to reflexivity, motivation, rationality and purposive action engendered varying degrees of transformation among participants. According to Giddens (1984:15), the transformative capacity of agency is a central tenet. Remarkably, in the most enabled profile some participants started their business with an income of as little as R50 (US$3.56), yet they achieved some form of upward mobility by South African township standards. For example, some of them moved from living in shacks to acquiring better houses in well-serviced sections of the townships.

The upward mobility demonstrates a high degree of transformation and improvement in quality of life. In accordance with the CA, wellbeing outcomes are crucial variables of evaluating change beyond attaining income. The findings pointed to an association between generating more income and achieving more wellbeing outcomes that included *inter alia*, purchase of assets, such as vehicles, houses, containers for trading, increased autonomy, children's tertiary education, and improvements in domestic life and other interpersonal relationships.

To demonstrate the importance of achieving more than just income, authors, who evaluate self-help projects using the CA, argue for a more multi-dimensional assessment of needs. Other wellbeing aspects include self-esteem, control over own labour, autonomy, knowledge, aesthetic experience and social values (Kabeer, 1995; Robeyns, 2005; Alkire, 2002). For example, Alkire's (2002) study evaluated goat rearing, literacy classes and rose-cultivation projects for a project that enhanced the most capabilities. She concluded that, had the evaluations focused entirely on income and excluded other wellbeing outcomes, the female participants would have rated the literacy project unsustainable, as there was no market for female employment. Similarly, the goat-rearing projects would have appeared to be the most economically sound investment. Instead, the women participants rated the literacy projects as the most capability-enhancing because they gained more knowledge and empowerment, achieved literacy and problem-solving skills, gained awareness of their rights, and autonomy in decision-making. They thus achieved a great sense of satisfaction and more wellbeing outcomes.

The most-enabled profile's achievements connect to the importance of adapting the different dimensions of agency cumulatively in tandem with utilising opportunities presented by structures in their socio-economic and political systems (Giddens, 1984:25). I argue that the presence of opportunities, in themselves, did not lead to transformation. Rather, it was the women traders' choices and decisions regarding those opportunities that led to their transformation. While all women traders in my study had the inherent capacity to make choices and decisions within the parameters defined by their contexts, largely, variation in individual ability to exercise agency appeared to have made a significant difference. This explains why the moderately and least enabled profile participants were surpassed by the most enabled profile participants in achieving wellbeing outcomes due to individual deprivation, context-specific structural constraints and deficiencies in exercising agency discussed above. Therefore, there is a need to address and expand more opportunities to enhance lower profile participants' capabilities by orientating them towards more strategic goal-setting and calculative rational thinking. Reflections on lessons from their trading and social environments, coupled with balancing business goals and family/ community obligations are also enabling.

11.1.2 Reflexivity and enablement

The notion of monitoring critically personal circumstances in the context of the broader environment links to the Freirean concept of critical concientization (Ibrahim, 2006:401). In

Freire's terms, this means the "awakening of the critical consciousness" of the poor to address their poverty (Ibrahim, 2006:401). The poor critically engage in problem solving and decision-making and actively resolve these problems (Ibrahim, 2006:401). Writing on reflexivity, Giddens (1984:5) emphasised that social actors monitor the environments that shape the ongoing flow of their social life using their own individual judgements to execute actions. The variation in utilising knowledge drawn from time and space contexts among the women traders in my study portrayed reflexivity as somewhat more fluid as the other dimensions of agency. There was some evidence to suggest that reflexivity appears to be more dependent on temporality in influencing decisions and actions than other dimensions. Knowledge derived from the past, while crucial, is rendered obsolete by new and unfamiliar constraints. In addition, awareness of relevant trading environment, relationships with others and own attributes, while crucial, did not alone directly influence change. Rationality, motivation and purposive actions appeared to be more directly commensurate with transformation. For instance, some moderately enabled and least enabled profile participants were knowledgeable about their trading environment, such as suppliers, micro-policies of the Vukuzenzele programs and the impact of outsourcing on employment and customers' purchasing power. This knowledge on its own did not help enable their businesses significantly as they needed to implement the knowledge in practice. In the most enabled profile, at least two cases demonstrated their astuteness in all other dimensions except for reflexivity. By deviating from common narratives associated with the most enabled profile and emphasising individualistic tendencies, such as independence and being self-serving, one participant chose not to incorporate knowledge from the social milieu and value systems in her trading practice.

In addition, she lacked awareness of relevant supportive institutions known by all the other participants, such as accessing social security services. This was atypical in the most enabled profile. Despite all that, she achieved the most sales. Her success could be attributed to operating more than one braaiing business, more than 20 years of trading experience and generally being more hands- on and popular with male customers, who were regular and bulk buyers. The lack of social and interpersonal skills and reflexive knowledge did not compromise her business. The insufficient presence of reflexivity, which did not interfere with other dimensions of agency is best understood by applying Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach's (2008:616-617) model for understanding multiple narratives of subjective attributions of outcomes of life-course development. Agency in McAdams' model denotes self-mastery, status/victory, achievement, sense of responsibility and empowerment as well as separating

self from others to master, dominate and control (Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, and 2008:622). In the above case, the construction of narratives and attributions to success by dissociating of self from others did not seem to affect enablement and entrepreneurial success. It can, however, be argued that the sense of independence and self-assertion that did not honour significant others created negative consequences, such as alienation, especially in the context where such values were espoused. By creating unnecessary conflict for example she jeopardised the support from others that she needed.

Similarly, regardless of how strategic and decisive enterprising women traders were, when confronted with new challenges, such as the arrival of Somali traders in the community market to compete with *spaza* shop operators, participants needed to tap into new knowledge. Ability to master this dimension of agency well was crucial in a turbulent micro- and macro-economic environment that characterises informal trading (Cohen, 2010; Standing, 2011). Even for traders who ran their businesses successfully for more than 20 years, no degree of reflexivity in the trading environment could have prepared them for the dynamism of the market. A new set of reflexive lenses was needed, hence the fluidity and malleability of the dimension.

In addition, reflexivity alone was not sufficient to deal with new and unfamiliar constraints. Despite the turbulent environment, some participants still qualified for the most enabled profile due to other factors, such as tenacity, social capital and temporality (as in running businesses for more than 20 years). Participants also exercised their own agency by drawing on other dimensions of agency, such as rationalising and purposive actions, leading to profound consequences. In cases where participants' knowledge, drawn from relevant trading context and own skills, was rendered obsolete by new and unfamiliar constraints, participants learnt new ways and utilised rational decision-making, purposive actions to circumvent constrains. To understand the fluid and malleable nature of reflexivity, Emirbayer and Mische (1998:975) explicate reflexivity in relation to temporality whereby individuals draw on past schemas, link them to the present and outline plans for the future. Cultural capital is also useful here in explaining the instrumental value of certain skills and knowledge acquisitions. While tradition and knowledge from communities informed some participants, others depended on different frames of reference, such as previous work experience. Evidently, the moderately enabled and least enabled profiles fared less well in enterprising efforts because of the ways in which their experiences informed them. Their interactions and ability to select, apply and implement their schemas also influenced actions and decisions made. Formative experiences, influenced by

gender, race, class, and ethnicity shape schemas and predispositions differently in people, resulting in varying life courses (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:981; Seekings, 2008).

Thus, I argue, reflexivity is still a necessary dimension of agency upon which individuals need to adapt their knowledge consciously to meet current and relevant exigencies. In the case of the least and moderately enabled participants, their knowledge and awareness did not help their business partly because of lack of implementation or lacking relevant skills. The findings on reflexivity illuminate that some people can learn from their environments, but choose to disregard the knowledge and draw on other schemas of experience. In Emirbayer and Mische's (1998:975) terms, *schematization* of social experience is crucial to agency. Thus, social actors selectively recognise, locate and implement the taken-for-granted schemas of action and develop them to their ongoing and situated transactions. As demonstrated in Chapter five, on reflexivity, participant's biographies on prior trading experiences such as informal skills taught by their families, and sometimes communities, shaped their responsive behaviours. That is where reflexivity plays a crucial role.

11.1.3 Structure and agency as mutually constitutive

Literature on agency and entrepreneurial development of marginalised women in the global South documents the dual role of agency and structures. Social opportunities and resources support poverty alleviation strategies. For example, Kabeer (1995) reported on how poor women pursuing self-help projects responded to similar gender-specific constraints discussed in my findings. These included *inter alia*, limited access to financial capital, exacerbated by lack of collateral and rigid administrative procedures, access to health, lack of vocational skills and corruption by public works officials. They responded by forming cooperatives and associations to operate their own crisis credit schemes, group borrowing and garnered bargaining power in addressing constraints. Some organisations reached out to poor communities to provide banking, health services and supportive training workshops on banking procedures (ibid: 1995). Thus, collective agency worked in tandem with institutional support emanating from properties of social systems as alluded to by Giddens (2010).

Similarly, in my study, women practised some form of collective agency by forming *stokvels*, practicing interdependent relationships at the trading site and, to a lesser extent, joining traders' associations as demonstration of agency. Although collective agency through cooperatives is well documented in women entrepreneurial development in Africa (see Sengendo, 2006; Theron, 2010), in my study, collective agency only occurred as an extension of individual

agency. Collectivistic systems thinking that valued social capital and networks (Potgieter, 1998) was crucial for trading businesses in Langa. Participants, who were more enterprising, calculative and were guided by systems thinking by promoting interdependent relationships with family, fellow traders and community members without compromising their businesses, fared better. This finding challenges the assumption that individualism that neglects social obligations serves profit making and growth. On this account, participants' reliance on community members and invoking traditional and kinship ties for mutual benefits were parallel to the value placed on kinship ties, friendship and trust in Hart's (2000) ethnographic study on informality in Accra, Ghana.

Furthermore, to demonstrate the crucial role played by both agency and structures in women traders' businesses, Chapter four indicated that opportunities, such as educational outcomes, relevant previous work experience providing both skills and starting capital, and family support, reinforced agency. Participants' narratives identify with McAdams' explication of Bakan's two modes of being, namely communion and agency (Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2008:616). This was more so for the most enabled participants and, to a lesser, extent moderately enabled participants, who depended on socialisation processes and better educational outcomes to enhance their business enterprises. Their construction of narratives around communal and family support resonates with Strier and Abdeen's (2009:579) Palestinian women, who constructed their narratives from a collectivistic perspective of their work and positive statements of family support, and fared better than the Israeli women, who were less orientated towards family and communal support.

For the same reason, the least enabled profile participants of my study lacked in structural opportunities, such as family support, and fared less well in exercising agency. In Hart's (2000) study, single women entrepreneurs lacked family support in their small enterprises and were less successful than their counterparts, who relied on social capital and kinship networks. This shows that structures and agency are mutually constitutive. Similarly, in his youth transitional studies, which explored career-path trajectories post-university, Cote (2010: 128, 132) found both structural (family support, social class, gender) and agentic factors (actively seeking career and skills development programmes, rational decision-making) contributed to successful transitioning of some youth from university to the career world. Thus, as in my study, variations in scope of thinking, and decision-making alongside balancing of collectivistic thinking demonstrated by the different profiles of participants from similar structural backgrounds provided evidence of the role of both agency and structures in contributing to individual

decision-making and reasoning. Nonetheless, in my study, although structural opportunities and resources propelled successful participants more, evidence indicated that variations in exercising agency among participants lay mostly with their different ways of exercising agency. In acknowledging the role of agency, which an overemphasis on structures downplays, I am therefore inclined to agree with Cote's conclusion:

> *Unless sociologists recognise that some people can cope with and even overcome certain obstacles, they risk maintaining a patronising view of the very people to whom they seem dedicated to "liberating"* (Cote, 2010:132).

Thus, I argue, an overemphasis on structural constraints to the exclusion of agency as a crucial catalyst to development downplays the ability of people to act as knowledgeable, rational and purposive actors in development endeavours. In addition, while structures and psychological properties of individuals play an influential role in shaping habits of action, it is crucial to realise that "actors develop relatively stable patterns of interaction in active response to historical situations" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:982-983). In addition, the "subject's constructive activity in dealing with available life course programs", plays a pivotal role (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:983). As articulated by Hart (2000:192), modern societies cannot function by rational choice alone but rather, relational aspects that encompass social capital espoused in paternalism and mutual trust are important. In my findings on how participants exercised dimensions of agency, it was evident that both structural opportunities in the form of community, family and institutional support were important in reinforcing ability to exercise their own agency.

The idea of routinised action is fundamental to the way human actors reproduce structures and give order and stability to their relationships; by so doing, making sense of the growing complexity and diversity of modern society (Giddens, 1984:282; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:978). According to Giddens (1984:282), routinised activities are central to the concept of agency because in the "enactment of routine, agents secure a sense of ontological security". In the context of the study, the duality of structure and agency manifested when women traders, routinely engaged in their day-to-day activities, derived a sense of fulfilment and purposeful life in contributing something of value to themselves and society thereby shaping the structures that formed the basis of their existence. The concept of social reproduction best describes how routinised activities of women traders help shape structures and how, in turn, structures shape them. Fakier and Cock (2009:354) broadly define social reproduction as "the ongoing reproduction of the commodity, labour power and the social processes and human relations

associated with creating and maintaining social order". Defined this way, social reproduction gives primacy to how people shape the economic, political and social spheres that also influence their lives. By intervening in poverty through informal businesses, women traders were contributing to in formalisation from below in response to labour market problems (Theron, 2010). Therefore, a combination of routinized actions espoused in agency and structures is crucial and renders structures and agency as mutually constitutive.

11.1.4 Resistance to patriarchy and cultural norms

When executing qualitative research projects, as the one I undertook, it is common to encounter surprises (Bazely, 2013). Prior to my data collection and influenced by my literature review, I went into the field expecting to find women traders, who were not only oppressed by their male counterparts, but who also passively acquiesced to male domination. For example, my literature review had shown that, among the socio-cultural constraints that informal women traders in southern Africa encountered were patriarchal domination and intimate partner violence (Kabeer, 1999; Sengendo, 2006; Chiloane & Mayhew, 2010; Schmahmann, 2007; Hietalahti & Linden, 2006; Orner, 2006). Indeed, I found evidence indicating these socio-cultural constraints associated with power. The women traders' improved financial and breadwinner status, leading to some of their unemployed partners/husbands feeling threatened, and this exacerbated the conflict in relationships. Despite some of the literature pointing to women in some African traditional cultures in self-help projects exercising agency against patriarchal exclusionary practices (see, for example, Kabeer, 1999; Sengendo, 1996), I expected that my participants would conform to cultural traditions, subordination and reification of patriarchal domination (Mubangizi, 2008).

Prior to collecting data, I expected working-class women to demonstrate a sense of collective identity and support each other because of their shared circumstances. Contrary to that, some women oppressed fellow women, while some men were supportive and caring to participants in both domestic and workplace settings. Other women traders exercised agency to challenge patriarchal constraints. Challenging street harassment was an extension of their egalitarian household relationships. Some challenged abusive marital and intimate partner violence by applying for court interdicts or leaving the relationship. Others evaded culturally imposed and oppressive domestic obligations altogether by making a deliberate choice to avoid marriage. This key finding evokes debates about challenging and confronting constraints associated with power in relation to patriarchal, culturally embedded hegemonic relations and norms.

Writing on deconstructing notions of masculinities and femininities that promote violence and vulnerability to violence and HIV in South Africa, Moffet (2008:110-114) argued that, gender-based violence occurs in a cumulative spiral beginning from intimate relationships in families and communities culminating at societal level. Thus, the personal is political, hence some authors propose more equitable gender relations to reduce gender-based violence (Moffet, 2008; Helman & Kopano, 2017). Ramphele (1989) also argued that, in South African townships, the isiXhosa culture associated with domestic life, cultural conservativeness, preservation of patriarchal practices and adherence to religious practices is being eroded by western influence and disintegration, particularly in the context of rural-urban migration. Others have challenged cultural practices not directly linked to patriarchy. For example, the most enabled participants renegotiated the practice of *ubuntu* (African cultural values of supportive interdependent relationships) through supporting extended family members on their own terms and boundaries. Faced with competing ideals of conforming to social and normative values of providing for extended families and their own aspirations, some women traders resisted such norms thereby reconstructing their notions of social identities. Emirbayer and Mische (1998:984) constituted the reconstructive courses of action in response to challenges and uncertainties of social life as distancing from schemas, habits and traditions that constrain social life and identities to meet goals, plans and aspirations. The foregoing discussion has demonstrated how human action, embedded in social interaction, structural contexts and temporality, constantly draws on experiences to solve current problems and re-evaluate schemas to meet changing contexts and new challenges. All along, human actors are constantly endeavouring to intervene in their circumstances. They do so in consultation with self, others and broader normative and, at times, statutory interactions in the context of their current and situated needs (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:997).

Given the fact that agency dimensions are continuous processes embedded in time, space and structural contexts. I suggested that development practices commit to fostering and enabling individual agency and limit structural constraints. In the following chapter, I propose an agency diagnostic tool for coaching entrepreneurs by identifying their respective profiles and render the necessary support.

Chapter 12| An example of the application of the findings in development practice

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the findings can contribute to development practice. I propose a diagnostic tool for entrepreneurial training in development. Profiles, such as the ones constructed inductively in my study, serve categorising and benchmarking purposes relevant to the training of African women traders and helping them reflect critically on their work and to optimise the ways they operate their trading businesses.

The use of profiling in development practice includes assessing individuals' characteristics suited for specific roles in new business development (Janovics & Christiansen, 2003). Profiling is also practical for intervention strategies that help jobseekers access labour market opportunities (Englert, Docz & Jackson, 2014). Janovics and Christiansen's (2003) study, for example, identified four clusters of empirically derived personality characteristics: innovation, efficacy, independence and methodical. They used profiling to administer personality inventories to employees targeted for positions of idea generators and implementers in a new business development corporation in the United States. By profiling employees based on personality inventories and role analysis of the earmarked positions, Janovics and Christiansen (2003:73) concluded that personality characteristics were associated with role performance and that individuals in their study tended to gravitate towards one or other role due to different expertise in these roles. This shows the practical value of profiling in entrepreneurial development.

With these practical applications in mind, I now turn to a discussion of a proposed diagnostic tool based on my study's profiles. Because the profiles emerged empirically, they provide real possibilities and learning opportunities for African women traders working in similar contexts across southern Africa, and even the continent. In this chapter, I consider one application of the findings in the field of development training. I propose the use of a diagnostic tool that helps women traders to locate themselves in one of the profiles of enablement that best represent their situation along the agency spectrum. I begin by linking the proposed diagnostic tool to other tools used in development and poverty alleviation to enhance capacities. I then

discuss the diagnostic tool and provide examples of questions for use in the tool for further personal and business development.

12.1 Diagnostic tool for agency in a broader context

The idea of using diagnostic tools in poverty alleviation is not new, but rather the development terrain has seen the evolution of various tools designed to measure different development aspects. There are tools for assessing poverty and social change at a macro-level and tools for personal and business development at a micro-level; both types of tools are valuable in the field of development.

Several instruments are used at macro-level, examples include, *inter alia*, human development index (HDI) applied on a national level to measure life expectancy, education and gross national per capita indicators, the multidimensional poverty index (MPI) and other poverty alleviation tools (Sen, 1999; Alkire, 2017; Cohen, 2010; Cohen & Saisana, 2014; Alkire, Roche & Vaz, 2017; Santibanez, 2005). The Poverty Stop Light (PSL) is a diagnostic tool used at micro-level in poverty alleviation. It has similarities to the one I propose. Martin Burt and his team from Fundacion Paraguay in Paraguay pioneered the PSL approach. In South Africa, the PSL office piloted the PSL on a non-profit entrepreneurial development organisation called Banking Clothing (PSL office, 2019). The PSL approach has a wide network of organisations that promote poverty alleviation and entrepreneurial development in South Africa using the tool (ibid.). For example, Township Patterns, an entrepreneurial development organisation in Cape Town, has employed this diagnostic tool in assessing household poverty of women trained in the organisation to help develop entrepreneurial skills. Similarly, my proposed diagnostic profiling tool for assessing agency can help women entrepreneurs assess themselves and identify areas of their business operations they may want to change. Before I introduce my diagnostic tool, I want to highlight the way the PSL works.

12.2 The Poverty Stop Light approach

The PSL is most appropriate because of its successful application at a micro-level in self-assessments of poverty and providing commensurate supportive interventions (Burt, 2003). Central to human development is also the need to create enabling environments by strengthening institutional support, economic facilities, social arrangements, political freedom, transparency guarantees, and protective security, as articulated in the CA (Sen, 1999; Cohen, 2010; 2014:43). PSL employs the rationale of profiling by clustering poor people in three profiles using the colours of a traffic stop light: red depicts those in dire poverty, yellow, some

poverty, and green, people safe from poverty. The PSL is cost-effective and easy to administer and participants can assess themselves and receive a one-page report showing in a heat map format their level of poverty. The PSL diagnostic tool allows poor families to self-diagnose their level of poverty and develop strategies that lift them out of poverty.

The PSL tool uses six dimensions of poverty with 50 indicators and survey questions to assess poverty levels in households. These are: Income and employment, Health and Environment, Housing and Infrastructure, Education and Culture, Organisation and Participation, and Self-awareness and Evaluation. The tool uses mapping software to capture data in an electronic notebook and database on poverty levels according to colours discussed above. The approach makes use of photographs to accommodate the illiterate poor women. However, the PSL emphasises identifying needs and deficiencies at the expense of enhancing what people can actually do (i.e. exercise agency) to ameliorate their poverty and become more self-reliant.

My proposed diagnostic tool for assessing agency builds on the PSL and draws on the multidimensional aspects of agency and locates people's position on the agency spectrum in relation to profiles. People have an inherent capacity to exercise agency to change their life circumstances.

12.3 Diagnostic profiling tool for assessing agency: an illustration

I have drawn on the PSL in designing my proposed diagnostic tool by focusing on i.) the clustering participants into different profiles; ii.) helping users to self-diagnose; and iii.) drawing on multidimensional aspects of poverty and agency.

In line with Sen's (1999) notion of agency and freedom, people have the right to steer their own development; only they can formulate objectives according to their own aspirations. To do so, they need capacity-building interventions at both institutional and micro-level. Figure 12.1 below presents a model of the dimensions of agency and their respective indicators that help assess potential trainees' agency profiles. The model follows the dimensions of agency and indicators derived from themes already discussed in previous chapters. Including different dimensions and indicators allows distinguishing between participants' strong and weak areas. While it is important to view agency as a whole in development, disaggregating the concept into its five dimensions (reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive actions and transformation) helps identify and target areas of intervention.

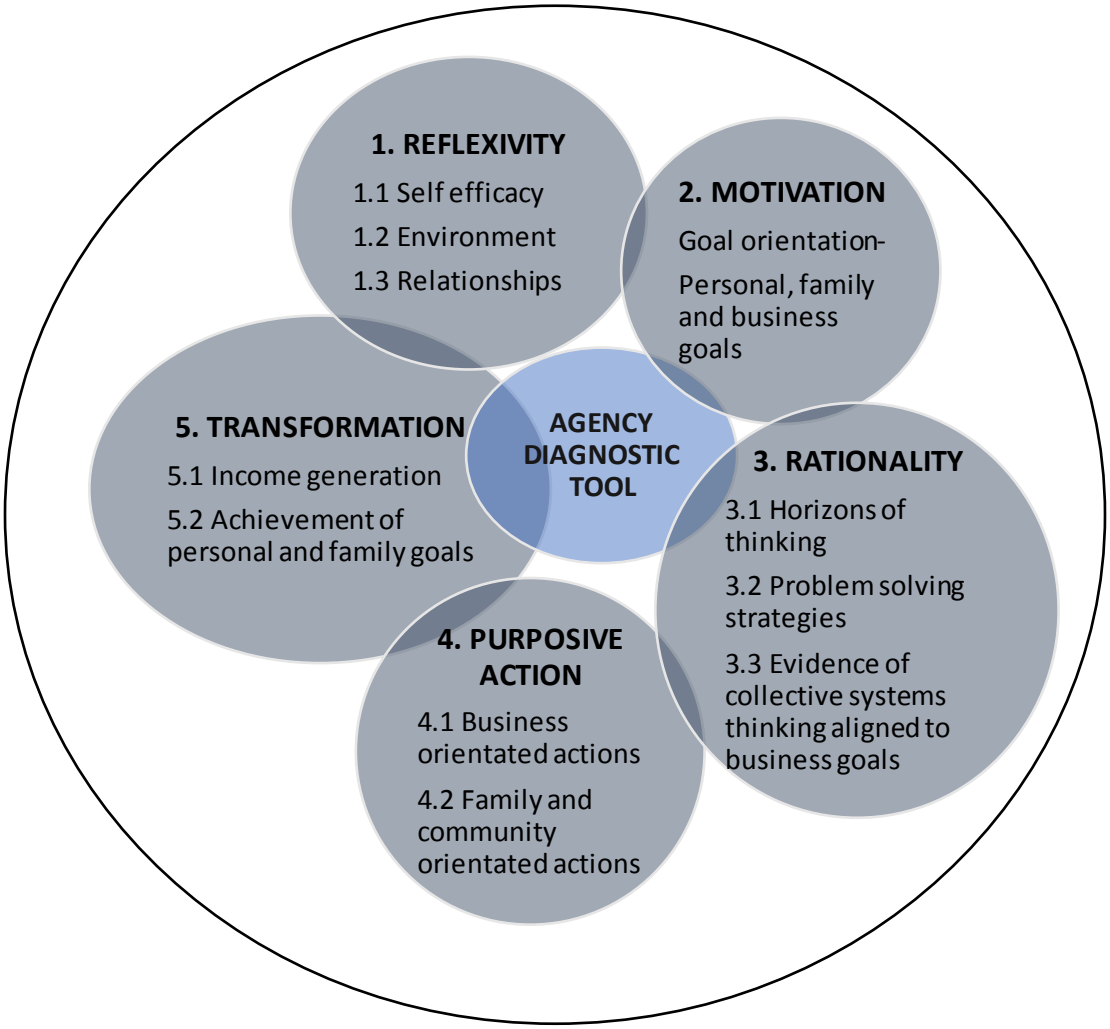


Figure 12.1. Dimensions of agency and indicators for assessment (Adapted from Cohen, 2014:3)

Next, I consider relevant questions for exploring and assessing participants' positions in relation to the agency spectrum to foster enablement. The questions included in the diagnostic tool are for people already in trading businesses; they can be adapted for novice traders. Below, I provide examples of the types of questions for inclusion in my agency tool, informed by my fieldwork, findings and related literature. I plan to test and refine this diagnostic tool in due course.

12.3.1 Reflexivity

In the broad spectrum of agency, reflexivity serves the purpose of creating consciousness and awareness in the minds of participants of their own skills, attributes and abilities developed in the continuum of time-space contexts. In addition, knowledge of contexts and factors relevant

to trading are crucial. These include, for example, market mechanisms of supply and demand, the role of significant others and other support systems.

The following are examples of questions that assess reflexivity as a dimension of agency.

Knowledge and awareness of self-efficacy

(1) Think about successful role models in trading businesses, what do you consider to be the most important skills that they have? (Skills here refer to any knowledge and special way of doing things and not necessarily formal skills).

(2) What skills do you have that make you more likely to keep your business functioning?

Knowledge of relevant broader social, economic and political context

(3) What are the financial resources available to you that help you in running the business?

(4) What places or organisations are available in your area for teaching or providing information about running businesses?

(5) Where do you buy the supplies for your business?

Appraisal of relationships with significant others

(6) In your relationships with your family, friends or neighbours, what would you say helps to keep your relationship going?

(7) Who are the people that support you in your business?

12.3.2 Motivation

In the diagnostic tool, motivation relates to participants' internal drive that prompted them to want to open or continue the operation of their trading businesses. The tool will measure goal-orientation and needs sought to be met, such as: protection and security, autonomy and independence, passion, and social identity needs. The following are examples of questions that assess the extent of motivation in participants.

Goal-orientation

(1) What motivated you to want to operate a trading business?

(2) What goals have you set for yourself that you intend to achieve through the operation of your business? Tick among the following:

Providing food and paying utility bills ☐

Generate savings (Specify monthly amount and duration of savings) ☐

Sending children to school ☐

Sending children for tertiary education ☐

Buying or paying for things that assist in business
e.g. *bakkie*, container, expanding business, etc. ☐

Home improvements (buying a house, repair and maintenance) ☐

Paying for family-related expenses (supporting extended families, traditional rituals, church or faith-related expenses) ☐

Other (Specify) ☐

(a) What steps have you set for yourself to achieve the above goals?

12.3.3 Rationality

Rationality depicted participants' expressed reasoning and thinking behind decisions made about trading businesses. The diagnostic tool assesses participants' horizons of thinking in relation to short-term, medium-term and long-term orientation, ability to solve problems and develop strategies to achieve goals and engage in collective systems thinking in business operation. The following are examples of questions that assess rationality.

Horizons of thinking

(1) (a) How long do you intend to operate your business?

(b) Do you intend to grow your business?

(c) If yes, how do you intend to grow it?

(d) If you save, how much do you save weekly, monthly or annually

Problem solving strategies and decisions

(2) What factors do you consider when choosing

(a) The type of business?

(b) Location of business?

(c) When buying stock?

(3) (a) When business is low, is there a way you change the way you operate your business?

(b) If yes, what do you do?

(4) (a) What are the main difficulties affecting your trading?

(b) How do you respond to those difficulties?

Evidence of collective systems thinking aligned to business goals

(5) Which groups of people (networks) have you developed over the course of your trading?

12.3.4 Purposive action

Purposive actions were participants' deeds in relation to trading businesses and social relations that helped sustain their businesses. In the study, actions manifested as business-orientated, family- and community-orientated actions. The following are examples of questions that assess exent to which participants balance business-, community- and family-orientated actions in ways that promote enablement and business sustainability.

Business-orientated actions

(1) In the operation of your trading business, what do you do to generate profit?

Family- and community-orientated actions

(2) (a) Some people experience situations in which their earnings are limited by family responsibilities for family members who do not live in the same house as them. Have you experienced similar situations?

(b) If yes, how do you manage such situations?

12.3.5 Transformation

Transformation encompasses making a difference to pre-existing circumstances through actions. In the study, transformation manifested in ways that include ability to generate more income and support family materially, practice social values and reinforce cultural identity,

enjoy family and social relationships, and pursue personal development opportunities. The following examples are questions I include in the diagnostic tool to assess transformation in relation to these aspects and other relevant changes in circumstances.

Income generation

(1) Indicate how much income you generate per month. Tick one box that represents your answer best.

Less than R2 000	**R2 000 - R4 000**	**Over R4 000**
☐	☐	☐

Achieving personal and family goals

(2) How has your trading business helped you to achieve your goals?

(3) In what other ways has the operation of your trading business improved your life?

Responses to the above types of questions can be analysed in the light of the criteria developed earlier (refer to Chapter 10) to ascertain the extent of an individual's enablement. The information elicited from the above questions is useful in assisting individual traders to be more enabled in relation to: (1) reflexivity - ways that they learn from their environment, others and own skills, (2) motivation - setting goals contingent to needs in a sustainable way, (3) rationality - develop long-range and life-changing strategies, calculative problem-solving behaviours and systems thinking by working in collaboration with others, (4) balancing business-, community- and family-orientated actions, (5) improving their life circumstances and achieving aspirations in areas that include income generation, supporting family materially, practicing social values, etc. It is also important to view the profiles as emerging and not static and deterministic. Following the PSL approach, colour-coding of the three profiles can be done such that green could be the most enabled, yellow, the moderately enabled and red, the least enabled depending on conformity to criteria of enablement and responses to questions included in the diagnostic tool.

12.4 Suggestions for further development

The proposed tool is modest and preliminary with the potential to contribute to the development of individual agency in relation to strategies for poverty alleviation. Piloting, designing and

validating a complete tool is beyond the scope of this dissertation, as this requires ample time and space. However, the tool gives insight into how the tool may evolve. It is not meant to substitute other poverty assessment tools, but rather to enhance individual abilities in meeting their goals and aspirations. The tool derives from qualitative methods aimed at eliciting richer and context-specific wellbeing outcomes. To strengthen the tool, I will consider incorporating the weighting of indicators, statistical analyses and scoring of indicators for more widespread application on larger populations (macro- and micro-level) and in different contexts. Consultation with experts from diverse disciplines will help me to develop a more robust tool (Cohen, 2014:47).

Chapter 13| Conclusion

13.1 Points of Departure

My social work experience with marginalised women in the Cape Flats communities of Cape Town exposed me to their different ways of intervening in their circumstances. I became curious to know what it was that led some women to strive to uplift themselves out of poverty thereby effecting change, while others acquiesced to similar circumstances. Development literature from the Global South informed me about structural constraints that women traders encountered. The literature, however, gave primacy to constraints and downplayed the crucial role of agency whereby women are active agents of change. Informed by these gaps, the central research question of this thesis was: "How do isiXhosa-speaking women traders in a Cape Town township exercise agency in the ways in which they respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?" The following sub-questions further guided the fieldwork: (1) What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses? (2) How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter? (3) What do we learn about agency from the ways in which these isiXhosa-speaking women respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses? Using a case study methodology by conducting in-depth interviews and participant observations with 25 purposively selected participants, I sought to answer the above questions.

Amartya Sen's CA grafted onto Giddens's ST guided the conceptual, theoretical and analytical framework of the project. The former has a record of work with women's empowerment and human development and the latter was the dominant theorist. An interpretivist approach guided me to understand how individuals continuously construct, make sense, interpret and assign meaning to their complex social worlds. To comply with the hallmarks of applying rigour in qualitative research and enhance the quality of the data, I adhered to ethical validation and substantive validation. I aimed for trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability by systematically employing verification strategies and making my analytical techniques and decisions throughout the data analysis transparent. In this final chapter, I summarise the research findings in light of the research questions and reflect on the lessons learned, the contribution of the inquiry to literature on the topic and possible areas for future research.

13.2 Summary of research findings

In response to the central research question, I first had to identify the specific structural constraints and opportunities in their trading context. Following Giddens's delineation of constraints, namely structural constraints, constraints associated with power and material constraints, I identified data-driven categories emanating from Giddens' typology. Structural constraints included class-based constraints derived from the cumulative effect of poverty manifested in low levels of education, limited access to housing, economic opportunities and limited access to financial resources for starting capital. Constraints associated with power ranged in spectrum from petty jealousies and subtle competition at trading sites to patriarchal domination expressed through street harassment by taxi drivers at the taxi rank that formed the hub of most trading stalls. Difficult customers, crime, community dynamics of factionalism affecting the progress of traders' associations, and municipal regulations all posed as constraints associated with power.

Last in Giddens' typology of constraints, and found in the study, were material constraints. These related to personal health whereby some women traders contended with emotional stress, physical exertion from hard labour and chronic physical ailments, such as diabetes, arthritis, high blood pressure and sore legs. These findings support Mayosi *et al.* (2009:934) on the burden of non-communicable diseases, such as Type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, chronic lung diseases and depression, as disproportionately affecting poor people living in urban settings.

I discussed structural opportunities following Sen's rendering of instrumental freedoms or rights encompassed in economic facilities, social opportunities, protective security, political freedom and transparency guarantees (Sen, 1999). Economic facilities included the market mechanisms of supply and demand presented by financial services, availability of wholesalers, suppliers and a viable market from the community. Previous work experience for some participants provided relevant technical, business and interpersonal skills, and starting capital. Social opportunities through social capital, and mutually supportive relationships in the community, helped participants to navigate structural constraints. Familial circumstances, such as generational residential status in Langa or Cape Town presented opportunities of resources and inheriting family trading businesses. Protective security provided by social support grants, community initiatives of *stokvels*, and burial societies served as safety nets for participants in times of crisis and for investments. Transparency guarantees were relatively evident at a local

level when participants voiced opinions about non-support from local government, provincial government and even street committees without censure. Participants demonstrated their political consciousness by expressing their sense of empowerment in their communities and in relation to livelihood opportunities, such as trading.

In responding to the central research question on how women traders exercised agency, I unpacked agency by distinguishing five dimensions derived from Giddens' theoretical framework, namely, reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action and transformation, and used a criterion for assessing enablement. Each of these dimensions constituted a separate chapter.

I distinguished the consciousness-creation role played by reflexivity in the multi-dimensional concept of agency. I demonstrated that reflexivity allowed participants to tap into knowledge from their social milieu thereby acquiring awareness of their own attributes and skills, the broader trading environment and relationships with significant others. This knowledge influenced subsequent trading-related decisions and actions. Based on set criteria, the most enabled participants demonstrated a higher level of mastery of reflexivity in that they tended to link knowledge reflected on to trading practice, whereas the moderately enabled grappled to do so and the least enabled participants struggled in that respect. Largely, the least enabled cluster lacked ability to translate awareness of own abilities, attributes and the broader socio-economic environment to trading practice.

I expounded on motivation as"internal drives moving to action" that prompted women traders to initiate trading businesses. Women traders in the study were motivated by the desire to cater for subsistence needs, financial security and protection needs. Participants sought autonomy, expression of passion, and conformity to social values and influences. I linked these needs to Manfred Max-Neef's taxonomy of fundamental human needs (Max-Neef, 1991:206-207). Three clusters emerged based on the degree of goal-orientation in relation to long-term, medium-term and short-term focus. The long-term goal-orientation cluster demonstrated a desire for more return on investment, a broader business framework and financial security in relation to categories. The medium-term cluster was motivated to achieve goals in the medium term mostly around maintaining and servicing the business operations. Lastly, the short-term goal-orientation cluster demonstrated that their motivation was mostly for subsistence needs. I highlighted that longer-term goal orientation brought more life-changing wellbeing outcomes,

as the goals were linked to more security-orientated goals, such as home ownership and children's tertiary education.

My findings on rationality revealed varying degrees among the women traders of strategic entrepreneurial thinking versus short-term entrepreneurial thinking. They varied in their degree of open-mindedness and positive thinking in the business and collaborative or collective thinking. The most enabled cluster demonstrated more strategic and entrepreneurial thinking, were more open-minded to new ideas and engaged in collaborative thinking in ways that sustained their businesses. The moderately enabled cluster demonstrated mid-range-orientated thinking by working on interim goals, and showed less evidence of innovativeness. There was also an imbalance of collective thinking in social relations versus entrepreneurial thinking. The least enabled cluster demonstrated short-term-orientated enterprising thinking by focusing on immediate gratification in terms of return on investments. They were not open to new ideas for improving their businesses and tended to be more individualistic than collaborative. My findings show that rationality as a dimension of agency is crucial in providing reasons and rationale for responsive behaviours in trading practices.

My findings revealed that purposive actions took the form of business, family and community-orientated actions. The most enabling cluster demonstrated more enabling actions that favoured business sustainability and wellbeing with less evidence of disenabling actions. The moderately enabling cluster followed the pattern of previous cluster in terms of purchasing supplies from wholesalers to cut costs, an attempt at selling a variety of products and good customer service, however, they also showed some disenabling business strategies. The least enabling cluster showed more evidence of disenabling business and family-orientated actions, which affected their business's sustainability and personal wellbeing. In all the clusters purposive actions also bore unintended consequences manifested mostly in the form of power in trading and family contexts. For example when traders competed for customers of family members made unreasonable demands on traders earnings.

My findings cumulatively revealed how trading businesses helped to change participants' lives in relation to wellbeing, beyond just income generation. Participants narrated that they valued changes that included more autonomy in decision-making and developing business and social networks. The women traders' businesses enabled the practice of social values and fostering peaceful and supportive relationships. While income was not the only measure of wellbeing, having more income created opportunities to achieve other wellbeing outcomes. The most

transformed cluster of participants, who generated more income, were also able to provide for their families beyond material needs, and to practice social values linked to payments for remittances to families in rural areas and traditional rituals. In contrast, the moderately transformed cluster generated less income than the most transformed cluster but more than the least transformed cluster, which enabled them to provide for their families and practice social values at the trading stalls and sending remittances to rural Eastern Cape. The least transformed cluster generated the least income and were also limited in seeking empowerment opportunities that helped their businesses. Lack of family support and income limited autonomy, hence they had fewer opportunities to practice social values of sending remittances to Eastern Cape. These results corroborate Sen and Giddens conceptualisation of an agent as one who brings about change and exerts power (Giddens, 2010:73; Sen 1999:19).

To capture a synopsis of how participants fared along the spectrum of enablement drawing on the five dimensions of agency, the final chapter on the finings presented three profiles generated cumulatively from the characteristic features of clusters of participants along the continuum. The purpose of the chapter was mainly for summative and consolidation purposes in preparation for the discussion of the findings. The profiles aimed to cumulatively bring together the clusters and their features generated in the individual dimensions of agency to generate composite virtual profiles of participants. The logic of profiling follows Yin (2009:46) who argues that multiple case studies allow for production of different but predictable patterns of results that emerge from aggregate cases as informed by theoretical propositions. Similarly, Bazeley (2013: 275,279) highlights the importance of aggregating cases into clusters in cross-case comparisons to identify patterns culminating into profiles that assists in explaining behaviour across a wider population.

In the discussion of findings, I identified the following as key findings: lessons derived from profiling, reflexivity and enablement, resistance to patriarchy and structure, and agency as mutually constitutive in shaping enablement. I outlined areas that distinguished the most enabled profile from the moderately enabled and least enabled profiles as mainly the former's skilful adaptation in reflexively applying knowledge learnt from socio-economic environment to trading businesses, setting long-range and life-changing goals, making rational decisions that were more holistic, strategic and a dual combination of personal and communal goals. Profiling participants strengthened the analytical process by projecting different patterns of exercising agency at an abstract level. There was also the added applied value of profiling in that it allowed me to identify characteristics that were pertinent to the individual profiles, and

I used these findings to propose a diagnostic tool for assessing and coaching entrepreneurs in development practice. By way of contrast, Hart's (2000) observations about the Farrah traders in his study are very insightful but, because these were single observations, the contribution to development is less pronounced. Constructing profiles based on many variables and many observations that reflected patterns and clustering in the data makes a far greater contribution to development than a string of single observations. As a key finding, I discussed reflexivity and its connection with other dimensions of agency. I argued that while reflexivity is necessary in the procession of agency dimension it is fluid in that it is embedded in the stream of experiences, present exigencies and future projects. It was also evident from my findings that the presence of reflexivity did not alter enablement significantly. Indeed, some of the most enabled participants showed some tendencies associated with the least-enabled profile in their ability to link reflexivity to practice, yet they still achieved more wellbeing outcomes. Conversely, some moderately enabled and least-enabled profile participants demonstrated awareness of broader socio-economic contexts and own self-efficacies, but they could not translate this into practical implementation. I have argued that reflexivity on its own cannot bring change, as one needs to translate knowledge and awareness tapped from the environment in enabling ways. Reflexivity therefore works better in tandem with other dimensions. For some, their learned dispositions from experiences had become obsolete and irrelevant in a dynamic trading environment, calling for adaptations in their trading practices. Reflexivity in this regard appears to be malleable as individuals can be trained to develop, adapt and implement knowledge according to necessary demands in situated contexts.

Despite the structural and power-associated constraints (such as traditional practices of ukutwala, domestic abuse, and unreasonable family demands that compromised their income and trading businesses) that women traders encountered, it was evident that some did not acquiesce to power domination and structural norms that disadvantaged them. Resistance pertained to applying for court interdicts against abusive perpetrators, challenging street harassment and by taxi drivers, setting boundaries about how to support extended family members, and leaving abusive relationships.

While the thesis's central argument was that agency is crucial to development, it did not negate the important role of structures, more specifically opportunities provided by families, community, social networks, social capital, the market and other "properties of social systems", to use Giddens' term. I, therefore, discussed that, in attributing success to the women traders' businesses, particularly the most enabled profile participants, individual agency and structural

support both contributed, hence the rendering of structure and agency as mutually constitutive as asserted by Graaff (2006). In this way, the thesis contributed to sociological theory and the debate on structure and agency. Giddens (2009), for example, argues that all social action presumes the existence of structural systems, and concomitantly, that structural systems presume action, because structures depend on human behaviour. I used the example of routinised practices that Giddens alludes to, and that were evident in my study, to demonstrate how their trading activities shaped structures and how the women relied on the same structures to foster enablement.

13.3 Contribution to development in practice

I situated my study in development studies, in particular poverty alleviation, because the study was of practical value to the discipline. To this end, I proposed a diagnostic tool for assessing agency aimed at enhancing agency capacities for both men and women in entrepreneurial development. I drew on the Poverty Stop Light approach, which uses a poverty diagnostic tool by depicting people's poverty status in traffic-light colours to denote people's poverty status with red being the worst circumstance and green being the ideal status out of poverty. The approach uses self-evaluation questions in relation to multi-dimensional aspects of poverty to assess clients' or respondents' poverty (Burt, 2013; Cohen, 2014; Alkire & Foster, 2011; Alkire, Roche & Vaz, 2017). Inspired by the PSL, I considered the application of my profiles in the context of entrepreneurial coaching in the field of development to help people move from a less enabled profile to a more enabled profile. Development consultants could use a diagnostic tool to assess agency in order to assist or coach women in development to become more enabled.

Lastly, the thesis made a small theoretical contribution by demostrating how grafting selected aspects of Sen's CA into Giddens's ST could reinforce the latter because on its own, ST would not have achieved the strategic, evaluative and conceptual explication that CA added.

13.4 Future research

Due to the bounded nature of the study, further research can amplify some areas relevant to entrepreneurial development that emerged from the study. Despite the demonstration of individual agency and, references to collective agency manifest in *stokvels* and traders' associations, not much attention was paid to the role of collective agency. Future studies can therefore explore this and other forms of agency. The CA has been criticised for being too individualistic even though it acknowledges the role of structures and societal systems in

expanding individual capabilities (Alkire, 2008; Ibrahim, 2006). By focusing on collective agency in entrepreneurial development, the poor can benefit from approaches that help bolster their communal goals thereby strengthening the CA as an evaluative framework.

The study focused on isiXhosa-speaking women traders in Langa. It will be helpful to investigate the role of agency in informal trading among other ethnic groups, foreign traders, and religious groups considering that Cape Town is a cosmopolitan city where informal trading thrives. Evidence from the data also pointed out that some traders were engaging in network marketing offered by Avon Justine Products for cosmetics, Forever Living Products for herbal medicines, Green marketing for medicinal products and Tupperware for kitchenware. The idea of network marketing was new at the time of the study and people have adopted it as a means of supplementing household income. Linked to network marketing is the recent innovation in entrepreneurial development in the form of electronic and social media that township traders including some of my participants have started to use. It would be insightful to explore what forms of innovative strategies can improve informal trading in township contexts considering that the majority of my participants relied on traditional methods of doing businesses. Innovation, entrepreneurship and creative industries are crucial to economic development especially in the context of dynamic markets engendered by neo-liberalism.

13.5 Concluding remarks

In executing this research project, I sought to understand how agency contributes to development and poverty alleviation. From the participants' narratives and my interpretations informed by interpretivist epistemology, theory and an analytical framework, I found that agency is indeed crucial to development. My findings demonstrated that the concept of agency is not only multidimensional but also elastic; and therefore open to enhancement by expanding structural opportunities as well as addressing constraints that interfere with agency and development. The generation of empirically based profiles in this thesis facilitates analysis that allows us to assess an individual's degree of enablement across a continuum with the potential to contribute to capacity building in the context of development in practice.

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Appendices

Appendix A 1: Consent Form (English version)

University of Cape Town
Faculty of Humanities
Consent Form

Title of research project:

"Asihlali phantsi!" A Study of Agency among isiXhosa-speaking Women Traders from a Cape Town Township.

Names of principal researchers:

Tsitsi. J. Mpofu-Mketwa

Department/research group address:

Sociology Department

Telephone:

Sociology department 021 650 3501 Mobile 0746944386

Email:

Tsitsi.mpofu-mketwa@uct.ac.za

Name of participant:

Nature of the research:

Case Study

Participant's involvement:

What's involved: Observing participants in their trading businesses and taking part in what they do. Interviewing participants

Risks: No harm anticipated

Benefits: A copy of the report on recommendations for improving their trading businesses.

Costs: No costs involved

*The respondents will receive, on the **successful completion of the interview**, a gift voucher worth R100, 00 as a token of appreciation.*

1. I agree to participate in this research project.

2. I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.

3. I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following:

4. I understand that my biographical details may be used in the research and research outputs but that my name will not be used in any research output.

5. I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.

6. I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of Participant: _____

Pseudonym of Participant _____

Signatures of principal researchers:_____ (name)

Date:_____

Researcher's request for permission to take photographs

I agree to give the principal researcher, Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa permission to take photographs of the following: (Tick the applicable).

☐ The products that I am selling.

☐ Marketing and advertising material inside and outside the business structure that I operate in.

☐ Other inside and outside features of the business structure/ room that I operate my business.

I am also giving the above stated researcher permission to use the photographs in writing her findings and any future presentations that she might make.

Signature……

Appendix A 2: Consent Form (IsiXhosa version)

IDyunivesithi yaseKapa
Isebe leZoluntu
Ifomu Yesivumelwano

Isihloko seprojekti:

“Asihlali phantsi!" Uphononongo/ Uphando ngokuzimela kwabarhwebi abangamabhinqa nabantetho isiXhosa kwilokishi yaseKapa

Igama lomphnonongi:

Tsitsi. J. Mpofu-Mketwa

Idilise yesebe okanye yeqela elenza uphando:

Isebe leNzululwazi ngezoLuntu (Sociology Department)

Umnxeba:

Isebe leNzululwazi ngezoLuntu 021 650 3501 Mobile 0746944386

I-imeyile:

Tsitsi.mpofu-mketwa@uct.ac.za

Igama lomthathi-nxaxheba:

Uhlobo lophando:

Isehlo

Umthathi-nxaxheba:

Yintoni equkiweyo: Kukujonga/ukuqwalasela abathathi-nxaxheba kumashishini abo ezorhwebo nokuba yinxalenye kwinto abayenzayo. Ukudlana iindlebe nabathathi-nxaxheba

Ubungozi: Akukho monakalo ulindelekileyo

Inzuzo: Ikopi (okanye isikhutshelo) yengxelo evumela ukuba baphucule amashishini abo orhwebo

Iindleko: Akukho zindleko ziqukiweyo

Abaphenduli (okanye abathathi-nxaxheba) bazakufumana, xa bathe balugqiba udliwano ndlebe, isipho sevawutsha esixabisa i-R100,00 Ukubonakalisa

1. Ndiyavuma ukuthatha inxaxheba kolu phando

2. Ndiyifundile le fomu yesivumelwano kwakunye nengxelo equkiweyo kwaye ndiye ndafumana nethuba lokubuza imibuzo emalunga nayo

3. Ndiyavuma ukuba iimpendulo zam zisetyenziswe kwimiba enjengezemfundo nakulo naliphina uphando (olongolunye) ngaphandle kokuba iinkcukaca zam zingacinwa, ziyimfihlo, njengoku kukhankanywe ngezantsi:

4. Ndiyayazi (okanye ndiyaqonda) ukuba iicukacha ezingobomi bam zingasetyenziswa kolu phando nakwimveliso yoluphando

5.Ndiyayazi ukuba akuyomfanelo/ayisosinyanzelo ukuba ndithathe inxanxheba kolu phando.

6.Ndiyayazi ukuba ndinalo Lungelo lokurhoxa nanini na kolu phando

Isignitsha yomthathi-nxaxheba _____

Igama elingeyonyani lomthathi nxaxheba _____

Iisignitha yomponononongi ophambili _____ (Igama)

Umhla: _____

Isicelo semvume Somphandi sokuthatha amafoto

Ndiyamvumela uTsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa, umphandi ophambili (okanye oyintloko) ukuba athathe amafoto ezi zinto zilandelayo: (Phawula efanelekileyo).

☐ Iimveliso (okanye amachiza) endizithengisayo.

☐ Izixhobo zorhwebo nezentengiso (advertising) ezingaphakathi ngaphandle kwesakhiwo soshishino endisebenza kuso.

☐ Ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwesakhiwo soshishino okanye kwigumbi endisebenza kulo.

Ndikwamnika imvume lomphandi ukhankanywe apha ngentla yokuba awasebenzise la mafoto nasekubhaleni izinto zakhe aziphandileyo kwakunye nezinye iingxelo azakuthatha inxaxheba kuzo ekuhambeni kwexesha.

Isignitsha……

Appendix B: Extract from a 27-page table of research questions that I used to design the interview schedule that could capture key themes of research project

Dimension	Rationale	Source
Social Factors	**Social factors pertain to the respondent's relationships with people in her family, community, social institutions and society in general**	**Giddens, 1986**
What are your challenges regarding being a woman in your family and community?	To elicit responses on gender related constraints. Studies on women living in poverty show that women experiences poverty, structural constraints in ways different to men.	Strier and Abdeen, 2009; Schumahman, 2007; Hietalahti & Linden, 2006; Hussain 2010 Chiloane & Mayhew, 2010; Cichello, Almeleh, Mncube & Oosthuizen, 2011, Lam et al, 2009.Pearson, 2000.Rowlands, 2002
We discussed about how women in Townships experience challenges because of being a woman, how do you deal with challenges that try to oppress or disadvantage you as a woman?	To explore responses to patriarchal dominations in the community.	Sengendo, 2006; Strier & *Abdeen*, 2009, Kabeer, 2009 Schumahman, 2007
With regard to family responsibilities that get in the way of trading business, what do you do when that happens?	To explore how the respondent exercise agency in responding to constraints associated with family responsibilities	Strier and Abdeen, 2009; Hussain 2010 Chiloane & Mayhew, 2010; Cichello, Almeleh, Mncube &
When you experience the challenges of performing family duties and trading duties at the same time, who are the people that offer you assistance?	To explore family support systems or lack thereof (opportunities)	& Linden, 2006; Hussain 2010 Cichello, Almeleh, Mncube & Oosthuizen, 2011, Lam et al, 2008

Appendix C: Research Instruments

Appendix C 1: Biographical Questionnaire - (English Version)

Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa September 2013

Biographical Questionnaire

1. What name can I call you? **(Use pseudonym)**

2. Please indicate your age

18-25	26-30	26-40	41-55	56+

3. In which part of Cape Town do you live?

4. Did you always live in Cape Town? **(Probe)**

5. Please indicate the type of accommodation that you live in

Shack	Brick house	Hostel	Council flat	Other

6. Please indicate your marital status

Married	Never Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Living with boyfriend

7. Do you have any children? **(If so probe number of children and ages)**

8. How old were you when you had your first child?

9. How many people live in your household?

10. How are you related to the people that you live with?

11. What is the highest level of education that you obtained?

12. Please indicate your income bracket per month. **(Bear in mind the discomfort this question may cause for a number of reasons and take note to verify the income through participant observation).**

Less than or equal to 5000	Between 5000 and 10 000	Above 10 000

13. Please indicate which of the following financial assets you own?

land	house	savings	Other

14. What do the adult people that you live with do for a living?

15. If your husband or boyfriend is employed, does he help you to pay for household expenses?

16. Do you belong to a Traders association?

17. What type of trading business do you operate?

18. In which year did you start operating your business?

Appendix C 2: Interview Schedule- (English Version)

Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa 10 September 2013

English Interview Schedule

Part One: Introduction

My name is Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa a Sociology student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am undertaking this research project because I need to have a clear and in-depth understanding of how women traders exercise their agency in ways in which they respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses in Langa. I have selected you to participate in the research because of your experience and knowledge about the way in which you respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect your business in Cape Town. I would like to inform you that during the interview please feel free to participate. The research will help in writing stories about your life of hard work, courage, perseverance. Your stories will be told to encourage and inspire the younger generation of women whom you serve as a role models.

I am going to use a voice recorder so I need your consent before we can start. I will use a pseudonym for anonymity reasons. Therefore, I would like you to choose any name that I can use for the entire interview. The interview will be approximately 45 minutes to one hour long.

Biographical history with respect to the respondent's life in general in the last 10 years

Tell me about your life in the last 10 years?

(From 2003 where were you living, with whom you lived (10 years ago as opposed to current situation), what you were doing for a living and how was life in general?). (**Probe reasons for any transitions in the time line, for example if the responded changed schools, work or residential places ask for the reasons).**

In this section up to the end, the Questions are linked to questions on structural constraints and opportunities:

(1) ***What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?***

(2) How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter

In this section I will ask you about your recent past history (about 5 years ago) with regard to your trading.

Section 1: Respondent's recent history in relation to trading

1. Remember when you started your business, how did it all begin?
2. What motivated you to want to open a trading business?
3. Thinking back, did anything happen in your life which led you to want to open a trading business? **(If so explain)**
4. In choosing your type of business, what factors influenced your choice?
5. What factors influenced the location of your business?
6. What work did you do before you started trading?
7. If you worked before, what are the reasons that led you to leave the work?
8. If you were working before, are there ways in which your previous work prepared you for your current trading business?
9. Thinking back to the time before you started running your business, did you get any training about running a business?
10. Going back to the time that you were growing up, are there events in your life that helped to prepare you in operating your current business
11. Who are the people in your life who influenced you in your decision to start operating the business?

    (People can be family members or non-family members)

In this section, we have discussed your history in the last 10 years, and your trading life. I am now going to ask you questions about your constraints and opportunities regarding your current trading and how you respond to those opportunities and constraints.

Section 2: Trading related constraints and opportunities and how respondent responds to the opportunities and constraints

If participant does not belong to a trader's association, go straight to question 5

1. If you belong to a Traders association, what do you consider to be the benefits of belonging to an association?
2. What opportunities have come your way as a result of belonging to an association?

3. If you belong to a Traders association, what constraints have you faced as a result of belonging to the association?

4. If you belong to a Traders' association, (a) what are you expected to do in the association? (b) How do you manage to do things that you are expected to do as a member of the association?

5. Do you have any other organisations (groups) that you belong to?

6. If you don't belong to an association please tell me about your reasons for not joining?

7. Describe to me your usual work routine from the time you open the business to the time you close?
8. What are specific activities that you have to do every week (For example going to the market to buy supplies?)
9. What goals have you set for yourself which you expect to achieve from the operation of your business?
10. In order to reach your goals that you mentioned, what steps are you following?
11. When operating trading businesses, some people experience difficulties such as getting transport to buy stock, getting customers to buy their products, creditors who do not pay on time. In your daily trading activities

what are the difficulties that you face that affect your business? (**For example book keeping or customer care).**

12. With regard to the challenge of ……. that you mentioned above about operating your business, how do you deal with the challenges? **(Explore how the respondent overcome other unique challenges)**

13. If you observe people your successful role models in trading businesses, what do you consider to be the most important skills that they have? (Skills here refer to any knowledge and special way of doing things and not necessarily formal skills).
14. What skills do you have that make you more likely to keep your business functioning?

15. What do you consider to be the most important personal qualities needed to operate the business?
16. What places or organisations are available in your area for teaching or providing information about running businesses?
17. What things do you consider about the product when buying your stock?
18. What situations/ things make it easier for you to buy your supplies?
19. What are your concerns regarding competition with other traders in your business?
20. In order to deal with competition on of other traders selling the same product as you, how do you respond to the competition?
21. Are there ways in which you would change the way you operate your business during the low income times?
22. What do you consider to be the major contributing factors that keep your business running **(Probe)**
23. What motivates you to continue the operation of your business?
24. When you consider other people who grew up in similar conditions as yours but are still struggling, what would you say made you to decide to improve your life in comparison to them? **(Explore)**
25. What are your concerns regarding growing or expanding your business?

We have discussed the opportunities and constraints pertaining to your trading and how you respond to those opportunities and constraints. I am now going to ask you about the opportunities and constraints in your family and community and how you respond to them.

Section 3: Social Factors

1. What are your challenges regarding being a woman in your family and community?

2. We discussed about how women in Townships experience challenges because of being a woman, how do you deal with challenges that try to oppress or disadvantage you as a woman?

3. Sometimes women who care for their families and work outside the home, experience difficulties in performing domestic duties as well as trading tasks. If you sometimes experience similar situations what are the challenges?

4. With regard to family responsibilities that get in the way of trading business, what do you do when that happens?

5. When you experience the challenges of performing family duties and trading duties at the same time, who are the people that offer your assistance?

6. In relation to the support you mentioned in the question above, how is the support given?

7. How does your family feel about you operating your business?

8. Sometimes when women work outside the home either in formal work or trading, when they bring income in the home problems occur in the family, since you started your business, did you experience similar challenges relating to your earning money?

9. As women, we sometimes feel we need to be freer to make decisions about our lives. What challenges do you face in making decisions about your business or other aspects of your life in your family?

10. Sometimes when people are successful in their businesses and life in general, they experience problems with their family, friends and others in the community, have you ever experience a similar situation? **(Explain)**

11. Which people or groups do you perceive as posing problems in relation to improving your trading? **(Probe)**

12. When you experience emotional problems or stressful situations about your life, how do you deal with the problem?

13. How safe do you feel in your community in relation to the operation of your business?

14. Have you ever experienced incidences of crime in such a way that it affected the operation of your business?

15. How do you manage safety issues that affect your business in your community?

16. How do you compare your opportunities as a woman in operating trading business with men traders?

17. In your relationships with your family, friends or neighbours what would you say helps to keep your relationship going?

18. Is there anything else about your family that has provided opportunities or constraints that you would like to share with me?

I have asked you questions about the opportunities and constraints associated with your family and community and how you respond to those opportunities and constraints. In this section, I am going to ask you about the financial constraints and opportunities regarding your business and how you respond to them.

Section4: Financial constraints and opportunities and how respondent responds to financial opportunities and constraints

1. How easy or difficult have you found the experience of trying to acquire: (a) land (b) House (c) Savings/investments (d) other assets? **(Probe)**
2. How easy or difficult was it for you to get money to start your business? **(Probe)**

3. In your life have you had the opportunity to get money that made it possible for you to start a business?

4. If you want a loan to help you in running the business, how would you get it?

5. In relation to getting a loan, what are your experiences with banks in trying to get a loan?

6. What are you concerns regarding getting a loan?

7. What are the other sources of loans available to you?

8. When faced with money problems what do you do you normally do to solve your money problems?

9. What other sources of income do you have?

10. What other financial resources (e.g. stokvels) are available to you that help you in running the business?
11. Have you taken advantage of these resources to grow your business?

12. Some people experience situations in which their earnings are limited by family responsibilities for family members who do not live in the same house as them. Have you experienced a similar situation? **(explore).**

We have approached the final section of the interview, in this section we will discuss the constraints and opportunities associated with the municipalities and other government services and how you respond to them

Section 5: Constraints and opportunities linked to regulatory systems and supportive services

1. What is the procedure involved in acquiring the trading space that you operating your business in?

2. What do you think about the service delivery of your local municipality with regard to things like: garbage disposal, sewerage systems and maintenance of trading facilities?

3. With regard to municipality services' challenges in delivering services, how do you manage the situation? **(Refer to specific challenge mentioned by respondent)**

4. In which ways do you experience the support of your local municipality with regard to your business?

5. Can you think of any municipal laws that govern your trading in ways that make it hard for you to trade?

6. In ways that the municipality make your trading difficulty, how do you deal with the situation?

7. When the municipality fails to provide facilities that you use in your trading business for example electricity, washing basins in salons, trading space and stalls, how do you progress with your business despite the lack of support?

8. In what ways would you want the government to support you in your business?

9. What do you think about the services of South African Police in Langa with regard to providing support to traders?

10. If you have felt let down by the Police or other government services when you needed support how did you resolve the problem?

11. Which of the following organisations that serve Langa have you used or dealt with before?

Police	Court	NGOs	Political Parties	Other (specify)

12. If you have used any of the above services how did you experience their service?

13. Which other government services do you use?

14. A lot of people that I know get the Child support grant (All Pay), disability grants, old age pensions from the government; do you use any of the mentioned government support services? **(Explore which)**

15. If you use any of the above grants, are the ways that the grant assists you in your business?

16. Are there any other ways that you feel advantaged or disadvantaged by the government, political parties or other laws in your life in general?

17. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me which we omitted about the way you respond to the constraints and opportunities affecting your trading?

Thank you for your responses, this marks the end of our interview

Appendix C 3: Key Informants Interview questions linked to theme- Traders' Association leader

Extract taken from a 4-page chart

Interview Schedule questions	Theme/ Link to key concept	Link to Central research question/ sub-questions
2 Questions about the origin association		
1. (a) When was the association formed? (b) What circumstances led to the formation of the association?	**Agency and structure (constraining and enabling nature of structures)**: The purpose of the question is twofold, (a) The time frame of when the trader's association has been in operation is relevant to establish the level of sustainability of the traders' association in relation to outcomes achieved. The time dimension also measures how transformative or lack thereof the association has been in a given period. (Hietalahti & Linden, 2006:206; Alkire, 2008; Sen 1999) (b)Exploring circumstances leading to the formation of the traders' association is crucial in establishing the traders' structural constrains or opportunities leading to the decision to form the association and the resultant actions depicting a sense of collective agency. (Alkire, 2005; Alkire, 2008; Robeyns 2005b, Sen, 1999)	*What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?* *2. How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter?*
2. What are the goals of the association?	**Agency**: To explore the degree of collective agency in terms of purposive action, motivation, rationality etc. (Giddens, 1984)	*What do we learn about agency from the ways in which these African women respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses?*
3. (a) How many members are in the association? (b) In your association, how many men are there in comparison to women?	**Agency (collective agency)** The question seeks to establish the context and demographic profile of the traders' association in terms of size and gender composition of group membership. The group size	*What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?*

	and gender composition is relevant to assess the transformative capacity of the group as determined by the number of people in the group and gender and cultural dynamics in the group. Alkire, 2008; Giddens, 1984; Robeyns, 2003:65-66; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1999	
4. What are the criteria used to select the members?	**Structural constraints and opportunities**: The question explores other aspects that determine acceptance into the group which can be constraining or enabling. (Alkire, 2008; Giddens, 1984; Robeyns, 2003:65-66; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1999).	*What are the structural constraints and opportunities that affect the women traders' businesses?*
5. (a) How is the association committee structured? (b) What are the roles of the committee members? (Explore the gender distribution of roles)	**Structure:** To assess the leadership, regulatory, relational and functional system of the association. The structural aspects of the association are crucial to establish whether it constrains or enables its members (Giddens, 1984).	As above
Part 3 Questions exploring support and activities done in the association		
6. (a) How often do you meet with the members? (b)When was the last time you met with the members? (c) What is the attendance rate like? (Explore reasons for attendance rate)	**Agency:** To explore the frequency of meetings as a measure of consistency and sustainable functioning of the association leading to transformative capacity. From the participant observation and interviews conducted thus far, traders' associations are formed and cease to function as a result of a lack of a structured, regularised routine of activities. (See also Giddens, 1984)	*How do these women traders respond to the structural constraints and opportunities that they encounter?*

Appendix C 4: Key Informants Interview Schedule- Traders' Association leader

Part 1 Introduction

My name is Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa a Sociology student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am undertaking this research project because I need to have a clear and in-depth understanding of how women traders exercise their agency in ways in which they respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses in Langa. I have selected you to participate in the research because of your experience and knowledge about the way in which you respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect your business in Cape Town. I would like to inform you that during the interview please feel free to participate. The research will help in writing stories about your life of hard work, courage, perseverance. Your stories will be told to encourage and inspire the younger generation of women whom you serve as role models. I am going to use a voice recorder so I need your consent before we can start. I will use a pseudonym for anonymity reasons. Therefore, I would like you to choose any name that I can use for the entire interview. The interview will be approximately 30-45 minutes long.

Part 2 Questions about the origin association

1. When was the association formed?

2. What are the goals of the association?

3. How many members are in the association?

4. What is the criterion used to select the members?

5. How is the association committee structured?

6. What are the roles of the committee members?

Part 3 Questions exploring support and activities done in the association

7. How often do you meet with the members?

8. What activities do the association members do in the association?

9. What support does the association give to the traders belonging to the association?

10. What role do the members of the association play in the association?

11. How does belonging to the association benefit the traders?

12. What other organisations does the association work with?

Part 4 Questions exploring opportunities and constraints encountered by the association

13. What limitations do the association face in trying to meet its goals?

14. in carrying out its activities, what opportunities have the association encountered?

15. How has the association grown from the time it was formed?

16. What would you say are the factors that contribute to the growth or lack of growth of the association?

17. Is there anything else you would like to share with me about the constraints and opportunities faced by the association?

Thank you for participating in the interview.

Appendix C 5: Key Informants Interview Schedule Langa Municipality council

Part 1 Introduction

My name is Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa a Sociology student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am undertaking this research project because I need to have a clear and in-depth understanding of how women traders exercise their agency in ways in which they respond to structural constraints and opportunities that affect their businesses in Langa. The interview will be approximately 30-45 minutes long.

1. What procedures does the municipality require for a trader to operate his/her business at Langa taxi rank or street trading?
2. What are the regulations required for a person to operate a home-based business?
3. What are the procedures required to operate a shebeen?
4. For traders to acquire a trading stand/ stall at Langa taxi rank or surrounding streets, how should they claim the ownership of the stand or claim?
5. What are the financial obligations of the traders operating at Langa taxi rank or surrounding streets?
6. What is the municipality regulation governing traders' connection of electricity to their business shelters/containers?
7. (a)What channels of communication have been established between the municipality and traders?
   (b) How are these channels of communication maintained?
8. What sort of support does the municipality give Langa street traders?
9. What are some of the traders' main concerns that they express to the municipality?
10. What limitations does the municipality face in trying to render services to Langa street traders?
11. When monitoring the activities of street traders and home-based traders in Langa how do the traders respond to the municipality's laws regulating trading?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share with me regarding the way the municipality regulate and support Langa street traders?

Thank you for participating in this interview

Appendix C 6: Biographical Questionnaire- (IsiXhosa version)

Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa (September 2013)

Uxwebhu lwemiBuzo ngeNkcukacha zomNtu

1. Ndingakubiza ngeliphi igama?
2. Mingaphi iminyaka yakho? Nceda ubonise ngokufaka uphawu kwibhloko efanelekileyo ngezantsi.

18-25	26-30	31-40	41-55	56+

3. Uhlala kweyiphi indawo eKapa?
4. Ubusoloko uhlala eKapa, ixesha elingakanani ulapha?
5. Luhlobo luni lwendawo ohlala kuyo? Nceda ubonise ngokufaka uphawu kwibhloko efanelekileyo ngezantsi.

Ityotyombe	Indlu yesitena	Ihostele	Iflethi kaMasipala	Olunye uhlobo

6. Nceda ubonise ngokufaka uphawu ngobume obuxela ukuba utshatile okanye awutshatanga kulebhloko ilandelayo.

Utshatile	Zange watshata	Ungumhlolokazi	Uqhawule umtshato okanye nohlukene nje	Uyahlalisana

7. Unabo abantwana, bangaphi kwaye mingaphi iminyaka yabo?
8. Wawunangaphi ukufumana kwakho umntwana wokuqala?
9. Bangaphi abantu ohlala nabo?
10. Uhlobene njani nabo?
11. Lithini inqanaba lemfundo yakho/Uphele kubani esikolweni?
12. Nceda ubonise ngokufaka uphawu ngemali engenayo ngenyanga kulebhloko ilandelayo.

Ngaphantsi okanye ilingana ne5000	Phakathi kwe5000 ne10 000	Ngaphezu kwe10 000

13. Nceda ubonise ngokufaka uphawu lwempahla eyiyeyakho enokwenza imali kulebhloko ilandelayo.

Umhlaba	Indlu	Ulondolozo lwemali	Enye

14. Abantu abadala ohlala nabo baphila yintoni/benza ntoni?

15. Ukuba umyeni okanye iqabane lakho liyasebenza, liyakuncedisa ekuthengeni izinto zasendlini?
16. Ingaba ulilungu lombutho wabaShishini/wabaRhwebi?
17. Luhlobo luni loShishino/loRhwebo okuqhubayo?
18. Uqale ngowuphi unyaka ukushishina/ukurhweba?

Appendix C 7: IsiXhosa Interview Schedule

(Tsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa October 2013

Part 1: Introduction

Igama lam nguTsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa ongumfundi we-Sociology kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa, eMzantsi Afrika. Ndenza le projekthi yophando kuba ndifuna ukuqonda ngokucacileyo nokunzulu indlela abathengisi basetyhini abasebenzisa ngayo inkonzo yabo yokuphendula kwimingeni nakumathuba athi achaphazele amashishini abo kwilokishi yakwaLanga. Ndikonyule ukuba uthathe inxaxheba kolu phando ngenxa yamava akho nolwazi njengenkokeli yombutho wabashishini/wabarhwebi. Ndingathanda ukukwazisa ukuba ngelixa lodliwano-ndlebe nceda ukhululeke ngokuthatha inxaxheba. Ndiya kusebenzisa i-recorder yelizwi ngoko ndifuna imvume yakho ngaphambi kokuba siqale. Ndiza kusebenzisa amagama angengawo ngenxa yezizathu ezithile. Udliwano-ndlebe luya kuba malunga nemizuzu engama-45 minutes okanye one hour ubude

Part 2: Imbali ngokubanzi ngobomi bomthathi-nxaxheba kule minyaka ilishumi idlulileyo

Ndicela undixelele ngobomi bakho kule minyaka ilishumi idlulileyo –

(Ukusukela ngonyaka ka-2003,ubuhlala phi, nabani (kwiminyaka elishumi edlulileyo xa uthelekisa nesimo sakho ngoku), ubusenza ntoni ngokomsebenzi kwaye ubomi bebunjani ngokubanzi?). (**Buza okanye ncina ngezizathu zokufuduka, umzekelo ukuba umthathi-nxaxheba uye watshintsha izikolo,imisebenzi okanye iindawo zokuhlala).**

Kweli icandelo uyokutsho ekugqibeleni, imibuzo iyalanyaniswe nemibuzo emalunga nezithintelo eziye zabayimiqobo [kumthathi-nxaxheba] kwakunye namathuba.

(1) Zeziphi izithintelo kunye namathuba eziye zichaphazela amashishini amabhinqa angoosomashishini?

(2) Ingaba la mabhinqa angoosomashishini aye amelane njani nezi zithintelo kwakunye nalamathuba aye amelane nawo?

Part 3: Kweli icandelo ndizakukubuza imibuzo ngembali yakho yakutsha-nje (malunga neminyaka emihlanu) ngokunxulumene neshishini lakho.

Section 1: Imbali yomthathi-nxaxheba ngokunxulumene noshishino

1. Khumbula eli xesha waliqala ngalo ishishini lakho, kwaqala njani?

2. Yintoni eye yakukhuthaza ukuba uvule ishishini lorhwebo?

3. Xa ukhumbula, ingaba ikhona into eyenzeka ebomini bakho eyakukhuthaza ukuba uvule ishishini? (Ukuba kunjalo cacisa)

4. Ekukhetheni kwakho olu loshishino, zeziphi izinto eziye zanefuthe kolukhetho lwakho (okanye eziye zakukhuthaza ukuba ukhethe olu hlobo loshishino)

5. Zeziphi izinto eziye zanefuthe ekukhetheni le ndawo yeshishini lakho?

6. Ubusenza msebenzi unjani phambi kokuba uqale ukushishina?

7. Ukuba ubusebenza ngaphambili, zeziphi izizathu eziye zakukhokela ukuba ushiye umsebenzi wakho?

8. Ukuba ubusebenza ngaphambili, ingaba umsebenzi wakho uye wakulungiselela eli shishini lwakho lorhwebo?

9. Xa ukhumbula kakuhle, phambi kokuba uqalise eli shishini lakho, ingaba uye wafumana uqeqesho elingokuqhuba ishishini?

10. Xa ucinga ngexesha owawukhula ngalo, ingaba zikhona iziganeko ebomini bakho onokuthi zakunceda okanye zakulungiselela eli shishini lakho

11. Ngobani abantu ebomini bakho abaye banempembelelo esigqibeni sakho sokuvula ishishini? **(Abantu isenokuba ngamalungu osaspho okanye angengawo osapho)**

Kweli icandelo siye saxoxa ngobomi bakho kwiminyaka elishumi edlulileyo kwakunye nobomi bakho boshishino. Ngoku ndiza kubuza imibuzo ngemiqobo nangamathuba ngokuphathelele neshishini lakho nokuba umelana njani nalamathuba kwanalemiqobo.

Section 2: Izithintelo ephathelele kwezorhwebo kwakunye namathuba nendlela umthathi-nxaxheba athi amelane nayo.

Ukuba umthathi nxaxheba akazibandakanyi nequmrhu labarhwebi gqithela kumubuzo 5
1. Ukuba ulilungu lombutho woShishino, ucinga ukuba yintoni ekunceda ukuba ubeyinxenye yalombutho?
2. Ngawaphi amathuba aye avuleka kuwe ngenxa yokuba lilungu lalombutho?

3. Ukuba ulilungu lombutho woShishino, yeyiphi imiqobo oye wamelane nayo ngenxa yokuba lilungu lalombutho?

4. Ukuba ulilungu lombutho woShishino, uwasebenzisa njani amathuba ukwenza izinto olindeleke ukuba uzenze njengelungu lombutho?

5. Ikhona eminye imibutho olilingu kuwo?

6. Ukuba awulilo ilungu lawo nawuphi na umbutho ndicela undinike izizathu zokungazimanyi namibutho?

7. Khawundixelele ngomsebenzi wesiqhelo owenzayo ukususela xa uvula kwishishini lakho ude uyovala.
8. Yeyiphi eyona misebenzi ekufuneka usoloko uyenzile ngosuku? (Umzekelo ukuyothenga ukutya evenkileni)?
9. Zeziphi iinjongo ozibekele zona nolindele ukuziphumeza ekuqhubeni ishishini lakho?
10. Ukuze uphumeze iinjongo zakho ozikhankanye ngentla, ngawaphi amanyathelo ekufuneka uwathabathile?
11. Xa uqhuba amashishini angorhwebo, abanye abantu baye bafumane iingxaki ezinjengokuthenga inqwelo yokuthutha impahla, ukufumana abantu abazokuthenga iimveliso (okanye izinto) zabo, abantu abatyalayo abangabhatali ngexesha. Kwimisebenzi yakho yoshishino oyenza imihla ngemihla bobuphi ubunzima oye ugaxeleke nabo nobukwachaphazela ishishini lakho?
12. Ngokuphathelele nalamahla ndinyuka) ... othe wawakhankanya ngaphambili malunga nokuqhuba ishishini lakho, uye wawoyisa njani la mahla ndinyuka? **(Phonononga indlela umphenduli aye wazoyisa ngayo iingxaki)**

13. Ukuba ubeka ingqalelo kubantu abathe baphumelela kwezoshishino nakwezorhwebo nabanempembelelo ebomini bakho, ucinga ukuba zeziphi izakhono (okanye ubuchule bengqondo) abanazo kwezoshishino? (Izakhono apha zibhekisele nakoluphi na ulwazi neendlela ezizodwa zokwenza izinto ezingabhekiselanga qha kwizakhono ezisesikweni) .

14. Bobuphi ubuchule onabo obunokwenza ukuba ukwazi ukugcina ishishini lakho liqhubekeka?

15. Zeziphi izinto ocinga ukuba zibalulekile nezidingekayo ekuqhubeni ishishini?
16. Ingaba zikhona iindawo okanye imibutho engingqini yakho ezinikezela ulwazi ngokuqhuba ishishini?
17. Zeziphi izinto oye ucinge ukuba zibalulekile ngemveliso xa uye uthenge impahla/istokhwe?
18. Zeziphi iimeko okanye izinto eziye zenze ukuba kubelula xa uthenga impahla okanye istokhwe?
19. Zeziphi izinto ezikuxhalabisayo ngokuphathelele nokhuphiswano nabanye abarhwebi kweli shishini lakho?
20. Ukuze ukwazi ukumelana nokhuphiswano lwabanye abarhwebi abathengisa imveliso efanayo nale uyithengisayo, uye umelane nalo njani ukhupphiswano?
21. Ingaba zikhona iindlela onokuzisebenzisa ekutshintsheni indlela oliqhuba ngayo ishishini lakho ing akumbi xa kungekho mali ininzi ingenayo?
22. Ucinga ukuba zeziphi izinto eziye zabanegalelo elikhulu kwishishini lakho? **(Phanda)**
23. Yintoni ekunika umdla wokuqhubeka phambili noshishino?
24. Xa ucinga ngabantu abathe bakhula kwiimeko ezifanayo nezi ukhule kuzo kodwa basasokola okanye basenza iinzame okanye oonako-nako, ucinga ukuba yintoni eye yakukhuthaza ukuba uphuhlise ubomi bakho ukuba ungazithelekisa nabo? **(Naba)**
25. Zeziphi iinkxalabo onazo malunga nokukhulisa okanye ukwandisa ishishini lakho?

Sixoxe ngamathuba kwakunye nemiqobo okanye izithintelo ngokuphathelele neshishini lakho nendlela othi umelane nawo la mathuba kwakunye nale miqobo.Ngoku ndizakubuza ngamathuba kwakunye nemiqobo ekhoyo kwifemeli yakho kwakunye nendlela othi umelane nawo la mathuba kwakunye nale miqobo.

Section 3: Iimeko zasekuhlaleni - Social Factors

1. Zeziphi iingxaki oye umelane nazo kwifemeli yakho okanye kwingingqi yakho ngenxa yokuba ulibhinqa?

2. Besixoxe ngeendlela amabhinqa ahlala elokishini aye afumane iingxaki ngenxa yokuba bengamabhinqa, uye umelane njani nezi ngxaki ezizama ukukucinezela (okanye ukukubandeza) ngenxa yokuba ulibhinqa?

3. Ngamanye amaxesha, amabhinqa anakelela iintsapho zawo kufuneke ukuba aphinde asebenze kude kunamakhaya awo, aye afumane ubunzima bokwenza imisebenzi yasekhaya kwakunye nemisebenzi yezoshishino. Ukuba nawe uye uzifumane ukule meko (akuyo la mabhinqa) ngamanye amaxesha, zeziphi ezi ngxaki?

4. Nguphathelele neemfanelo zosapho eziye zenze ukuba kube nzima ukuqhuba ishishini, uye wenze ntoni xa kusenzeka oku?

5. Xa uye ufumane iingxaki zokwenza umsebenzi wasekhaya nowoshishino ngaxesha-nye, ngobani abantu abaye bakuncede/bakuxhase?

6. Ngokumalunga nenkxaso othe wayikhankanya kulo mbuzo ungentla, inikezelwa njani le nkxaso?

7. Luziva njani usapho lwakho ngalento yokuba uqhuba ishishini?

8. Ngamanye amaxesha xa amabhinqa esebenza ngaphandle (okanye kude) kunamakhaya nokuba ngumsebenzi osesikweni okanye ngowezoshishino, xa bezisa imali emakhaya kuye kuqale ukubakho iingxaki elusatsheni. Njengokuba sekudala uliqalile ishishini lakho ingaba uye wafumana ingxaki ekwafanayo emalunga nemali oyirholayo. (Phonononga)

9. Njgenamabhinqa, ngamanye amaxesha siye sifune ukuzimela (okanye ukukhululeka) xa kufuneka sithathe izigqibo ngobomi bethu. Zeziphi iingxaki oye uzifumane ekuthatheni izigqibo ngeshishini lakho okanye ngezinye izinto ezingobomi bakho kwakunye nefemeli yakho?

10. Ngamanye amaxesha xa abantu bathe baphumelela kumashishini abo nasebomini ngokubanzi, baye bafumane iingxaki kwiintsapho zabo, kubahlobo nakwabanye abantu basekuhlaleni, ingaba wakhe wazibona ukule meko? **(Cacisa)**

11. Ngabaphi abantu okanye imibutho ocinga ukuba badala iingxaki ngokuphathelele nokuphuhlisa ishishini lakho? **(Phononga)**

12. Xa uye ube nengxaki eziye zikuchukumise emphefumlweni okanye eziye zikukhathaze ngokwasemphefumlweni, uye umelane nayo njani le ngxaki?

13. Uziva ukhuseleke kangakanani engingqini yakho ngokuphathelele neshishini lakho?

14. Ingaba wakhe wamelana nobundlobongela obuye bachaphazela ukuhamba/ukuqhubeka kweshishini lakho?

15. Umelana njani nemiba yezokhuseleko eye ichaphazele ishishini lakho engingqini yakho?

16. Awathelekisa njani amathuba onawo njengemntu obinqileyo nomntu oyindoda ushishinayo?

17. Kulwalamano nefemeli yakho, nabahlobo okanye nabammelwane ungathi yintoni eyenza ukuba ubuhlobo benu buhlale buliqilima?

18. Inbana ikhona into onothanda ukundixelela ngayo malunga nosapho lwakho ethe yakuvulela amathuba okanye ethe yakuthintela?

Ndiye ndakubuza imibuzo engamathuba kwakunye nezithintelo ngokunxulumene nosapho lwakho kwakunye nasekuhlaleni nendlela oye umelane nawo lamathuba kwanezizithintelo. Kweli candelo ndizakubuza ngezithintelo zemali kwakunye namathuba emali ngokuphathelele neshishini lakho nendlela oye uthei umelane nezi zithintelo kwakunye nalamathuba.

Section 4: Izithintelo kwakunye namathuba emali nendlela umphenduli (okanye umthathi-nxaxheba aye amelana nawo lamathuba kwanezizithintelo

1. Ingaba kwakulula okanye kwakunzima kangakanani ukufumana: (a) umhlaba (b) Indlu (c) imali egcinwayo (d) ezinye izinto ezixabisekileyo onokuzithengisa ukubhatala amatyala? **(Cikida/phanda)**

2. Kwakulula okanye kwakunzima kangakanani ukufumana imali yokuqalisa ishishini lakho?

3. Apha ebomini bakho ingaba ubukhe wanayo inyhweba yokufumana imali ebhankini ukuze ukwazi ukuqala ishishini lakho?

4. Ukuba ufuna ukuboleka imali yokukunceda ukuba uqhube ishishini lakho, ungayifumana njani?

5. Ngokuphathelele nokuboleka imali, ngawaphi amava onawo neebhanki ngokuzama ukuboleka imali?

6. Yeyiphi inkxalabo onayo malunga nokuboleka imali?

7. Ngawaphi amanye amajelo okuboleka imali afumanekayo kuwe?

8. Xa uxinwe ziingxaki zemali uye wenze ntoni ngokwesiqhelo ukuzama ukusombulula ezi ngxaki?

9. Ngawaphi amanye amajelo emali onawo?

10. Ngawaphi amanye amajelo emali (umzekelo umbutho wemali/istokvel) efumanekayo kuwe neye yakunceda ukuba ukwazi ukuqhuba ishishini lakho?
11. Ingaba uye wawasebenzisa amathuba okusebenzia la majelo (emali)?

12. Abanye abantu bathwale ubunzima bokuba imivuzo (okanye inzuzo) yabo iye iminxeke ngenxa yoxanduva lokujongana namalungu osapho angahlali nabo endlwini enye. Ingaba wakhe waba kwimeko enjengale? **(Phononga).**

Sesifikelele kwicandelo lokugqibela lokudliwano-ndlebe. Kweli candelo sizakuxoxa ngezithintelo kwakunye namathuba anxulumane neenkonzo zikamasipala wengingqi kwakunye nezenye iinkonzo zikarhulumente nendlela oye uthi umelane nazo.

Section 5: Izithintelo kwakunye namathuba edibene nemithetho yolawulo kwakunye neenkonzo zokuxhasa

1. Yeyiphi imiqathango ekufuneka ithathwe ekufumaneni indawo yokushishina (okanye yokurhweba) oye uqhubele kulo ishishini lakho?

2. Ucinga ntoni ngonikezelo lweenkonzo zomasipala wengingqi yakho ngokumayelana nezi zinto ezinje: nokulahlwa kwenkunkuma, imijelo ephantsi komhlaba ehambisa amanzi amdaka (sewerage systems) kwakunye nokongiwa kwezinto zokurhweba?

3. Ngukumayelana namahla-ndinyuka eenkonzo zikamasipala ekunikezeleni ngeenkonzo, umelana njani nezi meko? (**Bhekisela kumahla-ndinyuka athe akhankanywa ngumphenduli)**

4. Uye uyifumane njani inkxaso kamasipala wengingqi yakho ngokuphathelele neshishini lakho?

5. Ungacinga ngemithetho kamasipala elawula ishishini lacko nekwenza kubenzima ukuba ushishine?

6. Ngukumayelana nendlela umasipala wenza kubenzima ukuba ushishine, uye wawoyisa njani la mahla ndinyuka?

7.Xa umasipala esilela ekuboneleleni ngeenkonzo ozisebenzisayo kumashishini enu ezorhwebo; umzekelo, umbane, iisinki/ibhafu zokuhlamaba iintloko esaluni, iindawo okanye izitendi zokushishina, uqhubekeka njani ngeshishini lakho xa kungekho nkxaso?

8. Ingaba ufuna urhulumente awaxhase njani amashishini enu?

9. Ucinga ntoni ngeenkonzo (okanye ngenkxaso) zamapolisa aseMzantsi Afrika kwaLanga ngokuyelelene nokunikezela ngenkxaso kubarhwebi?

10. Ukuba wakhe waphoxwa ngamapolisa okanye ngurhulumente ngexesha owawudinga uncedo ngalo, wayisombulula njani loo ngxaki?

11. Yeyiphi kwenye yale mibuthi ikhankanywe ngezantsi esebenzela iLokishi yakwaLanga okhe wayisebenzisa okanye okhe wahambisana nayo ngaphambili?

Amapolisa	Iinkundla	ii-NGO	Imibutho yezopolitiko	Enye (khankanya)

12. Ukuba uye wasebenziza enye yezi nkonzo zikhankanywe ngentla, ngawaphi amava othe wawafumana ngazo? **(Nceda unabe/ucacise)**

13. Zeziphi ezinye iinkonzo zikarhulumente ozisebenzisayo?

14. Uninzi lwabantu endibaziyo bafumana Imali yenkxaso yabantwana (All Pay), imali yabakhubazekileyo, imali yabantu abadala kurhulumente; ingaba uyayisebenzisa enye yezi nkonzo zikarhulumente? **(Xela ukuba yeyiphi ucacise)**

15. Ukuba usebenzisa enye yezinkam-nkam okanye iipenshini zikhankanywe ngentla, ingaba zikhona iindlela ezikunceda ngayo ezipenshini ngokuyelelene neshishini lakho?

16. Ingaba zikhona ezinye indlela ozifumana ziluncedo (okanye inzuzo) okanye ezingeloncedo kurhulumente, imibutho yezopolitiko okanye imithetho nje ebanzi ebomini bakho?

17. Ingaba ikhona enye into onqwenela ukundixelela yona endingakhange ndiyibuze emalunge nendlela omelana ngayo nemiqobo namathuba aye achaphazele ishishini lakho?

Enkosi ngeempendulo zenu, esi ke sisiphelo sodliwano-ndlebe lwetu

Appendix C 8: Key Informants Interview Schedule- Traders' Association leader (Isixhosa Version)

IShedyuli yodliwano-ndlebe lwabona Bathathi-nxaxheba baphambili

Inkokheli yoMbutho wabaShishini/wabaRhwebi

ICandelo 1 Intshayelelo

Igama lam nguTsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa ongumfundi we-Sociology kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa, eMzantsi Afrika. Ndenza le projekthi yophando kuba ndifuna ukuqonda ngokucacileyo nokunzulu indlela abathengisi basetyhini abasebenzisa ngayo inkonzo yabo yokuphendula kwimingeni nakumathuba athi achaphazele amashishini abo kwilokishi yakwaLanga. Ndikonyule ukuba uthathe inxaxheba kolu phando ngenxa yamava akho nolwazi njengenkokeli yombutho wabashishini/wabarhwebi. Ndingathanda ukukwazisa ukuba ngelixa lodliwano-ndlebe nceda ukhululeke ngokuthatha inxaxheba. Ndiya kusebenzisa i-recorder yelizwi ngoko ndifuna imvume yakho ngaphambi kokuba siqale. Ndiza kusebenzisa amagama angengawo ngenxa yezizathu ezithile. Udliwano-ndlebe luya kuba malunga nemizuzu engama-30-45 ubude

ICandelo 2 Imibuzo malunga nemvela phi yombutho

1. Wasekwa nini umbutho?
2. Ziyintoni iinjongo zombutho?
3. Mangaphi amalungu embuthweni?
4. Ithini imiqathango yokwanyulwa kwamalungu?
5. Bunjani ubume bekomiti yombutho?
6. Adlala eyiphi indima amalungu ekomiti?

Icandelo 3 Imibuzo ehlola ngenkxaso nangemisebenzi eyenziwa embuthweni?

7. Nidibana kangaphi namalungu?
8. Misebenzi mini eyenziwa ngamalungu ombutho embuthweni?
9. Nkxaso ni enikwa abo bangoosomashishini kulo mbutho?
10. Adlala eyiphi indima amalungu alombutho embuthweni?
11. Bazuza ntoni oosomashishini ngobulungu bawo kulo mbutho?
12. Yeyiphi eminye imibutho osebenzisana nayo lo mbutho?

ICandelo 4 Imibuzo ehlola amathuba kunye nezithintelo othi udibane nazo umbutho

13. Yiyiphi imida umbutho ohlangabezana nayo ekuzameni ukufezekisa iinjongo zawo?

14. Ekwenzeni kwawo imisebenzi yawo, yintoni amathuba othe umbutho wahlangabezana nawo?

15. Umbutho ukhule njani ukususela ekusekweni kwawo?

16. Yintoni ongayibalulayo eyenze wakhula okanye awakhula umbutho?

17. Ingaba ikhona enye into ongathanda ukwabelana nam ngayo malunga nemiqobo kwakunye namathuba ajongene nalo mbutho?

Ndiyabulela ngokuthatha kwakho inxaxheba kudliwano-ndlebe.

Appendix C 9: Key Informants Interview Schedule Langa Municipality council (isiXhosa version)

IShedyuli yodliwano-ndlebe lwabona Bathathi-nxaxheba baphambili

Ibhunga likaMasipala wakwaLanga

ICandelo 1 Intshayelelo

Igama lam nguTsitsi Mpofu-Mketwa ongumfundi we-Sociology kwiYunivesithi yaseKapa, eMzantsi Afrika. Ndenza le projekthi yophando kuba ndifuna ukuqonda ngokucacileyo nokunzulu indlela abathengisi basetyhini abasebenzisa ngayo inkonzo yabo yokuphendula kwimingeni nakumathuba athi achaphazele amashishini abo kwilokishi yakwaLanga. Udliwano-ndlebe luyakuthatha malunga nemizuzu engama-30-45 ubude.

1. Ziziphi iinkqubo umasipala afuna umthengisi asebenze phantsi kwazo ukuqhuba ishishini lakhe kwirenki yeeteksi zakwaLanga okanye kurhwebo/kushishino lwasezitalatweni?

2. Yiyiphi imimiselo efunekayo ukuze umntu aqhube ishishini elisekelwe ekhaya?

3. Ziziphi iinkqubo ezifunekayo ukuze umntu akwazi ukuqhuba ishishini lokuthengisa utywala?

4. Ukuze abarhwebi/abathengisi bafumane indawo yokumisa istendi okanye yokuthengisa eziteksini okanye kwizitalato ezingqungileyo, bangenza njani ukuze babengabanini balo ndawo okanye ezo zitendi?

5. Ziziphi iimbopheleleko zemali zabathengisi abasebenza kwirenki yeeteksi okanye kwizitalato zakwaLanga?

6. Nguwuphi umgaqo kamasipala okhuselekileyo olawula uqhagamshelwano lombane kwiindawo zabo zokushishina?

7. (a) Ziziphi iindlela zokunxibelelana ezisungulweyo/eziqaliweyo phakathi komasipala kunye nabarhwebi/abathengisi?

(b) Ezi ndlela zonxibelelwano zigcinwa zisebenza njani?

8. Luhlobo luni lwenkxaso umasipala alunika abathengisi/abarhwebi bezitalato zakwaLanga?

9. Ziziphi ezinye iinkxalabo zabathengisi abathi bazivakalise kumasipala?

10. Yiyiphi imida umasipala ajongene nayo ukuzama ukunikezela ngeenkonzo kubathengisi/kubarhwebi bezitalato zakwaLanga?

11. Xa kubekwa iliso kwimisebenzi yabathengisi bezitalato nabasekhaya kwaLanga baphendula njani abarhwebi/abathengisi kwimithetho kamasipala elawula urhwebo?

12. Ingaba kukho enye into ongathanda ukwabelana nam ngayo ngokumalunga nendlela umasipala alawula naxhasa ngayo abathengisi bezitrato zakwaLanga?

Ndiyabulela ngokuthatha inxaxheba koludliwano-ndlebe.

Appendix D: Summary of 40-page Pilot Study Report

It was necessary to ascertain the interview logistics by testing the duration of the interview and locating places in the community that provided privacy to participants. The administration of the interview schedule followed a sequenced structure which began by introduced the study and its rationale followed by administering a brief biographical questionnaire (See appendix D (1)). I then moved on to ask the main research questions according to the different sections of the interview schedule, paying attention to transitional statements and summaries of individual sections. In the pilot study, I interviewed the participants by using both the English and isiXhosa versions of interview schedules to verify participants 'understanding of language used, checking that participants grasped intended meaning of the question and practicing for a flowing conversational interview. It was important to preserve the original meaning of terms and concepts to avoid easily losing them in translation by asking participants directly from the isiXhosa version. The pilot study worked well in that overall, participants understood the questions and provided the required responded accordingly. The interview schedule elicited open and elaborate responses from participants to the research questions which enriched the quality of the data. I noted a few questions which participants needed clarity in terms of wording and clarity. I recorded time taken to do the interview and transcribed the interview. Two participants preferred the interviews to be conducted in English because the participants had completed high school and the other is a University student. Explaining and translating the concepts structural constraints and structural opportunities was not easy as the terms derive from academic language hence I had to resort to breaking down the term using real life examples to explain what I meant by structural constraints and structural opportunities without being bound by the terms "structural" and not leading the participant. For example, I would say, "structural constraints are any difficulties that limit you in the operation of your business such as municipality regulatory laws, poverty and gender based limitations". This explanation complies with Giddens broad conceptualisation of constraints as articulated in the theoretical framework chapter. For structural opportunities' I had to explain the term as referring to life chances that are open to the participant that improve the trader's business and life (wellbeing) in general. In the Capability Approach, Sen used the term "opportunities" to denote a wide array of societal institutions that enable people to live lives that are free from all forms of deprivations. Informed by this understanding of structural constraints and structural opportunities, I decided to identify and extract the application of the concepts from the narratives that the participants provided as opposed to expecting the participant to identify

constraints and opportunities that were structurally derived. The pilot study was very useful in informing the main findings of the study as I incorporated the data derived from the pilot study. Bazeley (2013) and Sampson (2004) recommend incorporation of pilot study findings to overall research project findings. I undertook a preliminary data analysis of the findings, using first level coding of the data, to be deepened later by subjecting the data to thematic analysis and constant comparison to my theoretical framework (Bazeley, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Main themes generated from the pilot study did not change when I analysed the data for the main study. However, the pilot study did not prepare me for developing an organising mechanism using agency to develop clusters and profiles of participants, I developed the mechanism much later after completing fieldwork of the main study. I presented the findings around the main hall marks of the theoretical framework as articulated in the central research questions namely, structure, structural constraints, structural opportunities and agency. Although the data was very informative, there were missing links of the data which I explored further in the main study through participant observation. For example, while some participants expressed getting support from their spouses, it was not clear how the support was rendered, in the main study, I paid closer attention during participant observation and through probing on how the support was rendered. Pertaining to structural opportunities, not much information was evident about Sen's notion of political freedom and transparent guarantees which I explored further. Conducting the pilot study was thus an enlightening prerequisite to the actual data collection process in the main research project.

Appendix E: Definition of key concepts guiding the coding process

Text book/ Overarching definition	Operational Definition	Examples
Structure is defined as "the recursively organised sets of rules, habits and resources that are necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of the social system (Giddens,2010:81)	Structures are manifest in the form of (i) Regulations and support systems that influence behaviour of actors (ii) Sources of meaning construction that actors draw from. (iii) Resources that actors use to exercise power in order to reproduce maintain the reproduction of the social system. Also, how practices of rulemaking, regulatory behaviour, rewarding and sanctioning of conduct, habituated activities and control of resources that routinely form pattern of the traders' lives are continuously reproduced to form structures and manifest themselves in the context of the study	Regulatory laws, traditional customary laws, value systems, social practices, market laws of supply and demand that are set by regulatory bodies such as, government, cultural traditions, family, the market etc. Resources-societal provisions in the form of wealth, land ownership, farms, knowledge, supply of stock, money etc.
"**Structure** is a regular pattern of behaviour in a society, the grooves of accustomed, habituated activity into which people's lives fit". For example family structures, racial structures, power structures, class structures, authority structures and patriarchal structures (Graaff, 2006)	Structures are forces guiding people's routinized actions and practices based on societal categories like race, class, gender, power, patriarchy etc. People do what they do because their race, class, gender, ethnicity family dictates so or channels the accustomed behaviour. Evidently individuals have a choice in accepting the regulation of behaviour	Socio-economic activities such as going to work, informal trading, gender roles, specific behaviour necessitated by one's social class etc.
Structural constraints Structural constraints derive from the 'contextuality of action' whereby situated actors are unable to change the 'objective' existence of structural properties (Giddens, 1984, p. 177; McGrath, 2002). The pre-existence of society to the lives of individuals locate them in contexts of social relations which expose them to constraints that can be identified as limiting to their capabilities (Giddens, 1984). Giddens categorise three forms of constraints namely, structural, material and constraints associated with power.	Limitations that participants experience as they engage in their regular trading practices. **Structural constraints** are limitations imposed by: poverty, gender, familial background, race, ethnicity, communities and educational levels.	Limited educational opportunities, lack of trading facilities, poor housing and any other poverty indicators.
Material constraint: Giddens gives the example of the indivisibility of the body, finitude of the life span, the sensory and communicative capabilities of the human body (Giddens, 1984: 175).	**Material constraint**: when individuals experience material constraint, they will be dealing with limitations imposed by the physical, psychological and mental capacities of the human body and features of the physical	Terminal illnesses like diabetes, asthma and arthritis, working in muddy fields in harsh weather conditions, stress, old age limiting mobility and functions, disability etc.

	environment in a way that limit their capabilities and feasible options open to them.	
Constraints Associated with power: The constraining aspects of power are experienced as sanctions of various kinds, varying in intensity from the direct application of force or violence, the threat of such application to the mild expression of disapproval	**Constraints associated with power**: When traders perceive and experience the exertion of control over them in a negative and limiting way, they will be experiencing constraints associated with power	Control can be in the form of regulations from authority figures, competition from other traders, unequal power relations in the household.
Structural opportunities: While Giddens does not use the term "structural opportunities' conceptually in Structuration Theory, he implies the term in his description of structures as enabling, thus they provide opportunities for actors to exercise their agency (See Lieblich, Zilber & Tuval-Mashiach, 2008). Similarly, when Giddens allude to resources that actors draw upon in their social practices for transformative purposes, structural opportunities Referring to real opportunities to achieve valuable states of freedom from poverty, Sen (1999) uses the term instrumental freedoms or capabilities. The opportunities from Sen's Capability Approach include *inter alia* political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. are an example of such resources.	These are opportunities available to participants that enhance their life chances in social, economic and political spheres	Participation in skills development programmes offered by NGO, community network relations, family support, government interventions etc.
Agency According to Giddens (2010:73), agency "refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place". He adds that "an agent is one who exerts power or produces an effect" and "agent refers to doing". In emphasising the importance of action, Giddens states that an individual has to be a perpetrator of an event, in such a way that whatever happened could not have happened if the individual had not intervened, whether intentionally Similarly, Sen (1985b:206), defines agency as "what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important". or unintentionally (Giddens, 2010).	In analysing the participants responses in relation to agency I was paying attention to demonstration of knowledgeability, motivation to act, rationalising, transformative capacity to act, intentionality, goal setting as articulated in Structuration Theory and Sen's notion of agency (Giddens, 1986; Sen, 1999).	When participant rationalise their actions like when participants choose to operate business from home as opposed to renting a shop to reduce costs, when participants act according to their knowledge of the market and customer behaviour and when participants show motivation with respect to goals that they set they are demonstrating agency. Agency can also be referred to in the way in which participants neglect to do certain things like promoting their business or keeping clean trading facilities.

Appendix F: Sample Code Book

Adapted from Bazeley (2013)

November 2014

Code	Definition	When to use	When not to use	Example
Agency-Evidence of transformation from operation of business	The capacity of business operation to effect change due to the perpetration of action by the trader whether intentional or unintentional	When the participant demonstrates that she performed a deed which resulted in change.	When the participant merely aspires to do something but have not translated the aspiration into action.	*I would say that even though I don't have that much but when I look back where I am coming from and where I am now, I have done a lot and I am satisfied.*
Agency: strategic decision making	The participant's demonstration of making more long term decisions that changes the course of her life and her family circumstances	When the participant proactively asserts that she made a particular difficulty decision in respond to a structural constraint and other choices in relation to the general operation of her business.	When a participant's action was undertaken as a passive reaction to a situation or failure to take decisive action to a constraining situation.	*I quit the job in 2005*

Agency- Operational decision making	When the traders make creative decisions that make the day to day operations of her business easier and more profitable.	When traders face trading related constraints, they negotiate ways of navigating the constraint in a clever way.	These are opposed to the more long term and strategic decisions made by the trader.	Limiting the amount of perishable stock in low peak season, reducing process when fruit show signs of starting to go bad.
Agency-Rationality	The expressed reasoning given by a participant to motivate actions or giving reasons for behaviour.	When the participant give reasons as to why they behaved in a certain way or made a certain decision.	When reasons are not given to explain actions.	*"Because that's why I even chose to work at home so that I don't have to leave home and go to the business or leave the business go to do that at home. I work here at home everything is here with me so the only time I leave that's when I need to do my stock or I need to do my shopping".*
Agency-Routinized practices	The regular routine of activities that traders do act as a ritual of practices that they engage in that give them a purpose in life and which in turn help them to form structures (See Giddens on routinized practices) .	When the participant narrate the regular routinized activities that they do which gives them a sense of purpose in life.	When activities mentioned are not embedded in the participant's regular routine of activities.	*"I won't do it during the day. Let's say seven O'clock in the evening I will make a fire outside there. As they roam around they are passing me they will buy the meat. It's a Friday, I make a braai stand there because it's along the main road so they come and go".*

Appendix G: Contact Summary Sheet

Contact Summary Sheet Form (Adapted from Miles and Huberman (1994)

CONTACT SUMMARY

Date of Contact: May 2013

Type of contact	Site	Place	Date coded	Phone
Participant Observation	Participant's shop	Langa	May 2013	

Pick up the most salient points in the contact. Number in order on this sheet and note page numbers on which point appears. Number point in text of write up. Attach theme or aspect to each point in CAPITALS. Invent themes where no existing ones apply and asterisk those. Comment may also be included in double parenthesis.

Page number in notes	Salient points	Theme
1,4 & 5	Cultural norms creating unequal gender roles in the family	STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINT
1,2 & 4	Physical exhaustion from working too long hours resulting in inability to feed at times thereby affecting physical health	MATERIAL CONSTRAINT
5&6	Gender based unequal distribution of work in the household. Competition with other traders generating power Using passive aggression as a weapon to assert power in a marital relationship	CONSTRAINT associated with POWER
3 & 4	Spousal support, availability of suppliers and the market the community as a support systems, social arrangements etc.	STRUCTURAL OPPORTUNITIES
2,3,4 5 &6	Agency reflected in the participant's knowledgeable and rational actions in maintaining cleanliness, friendliness in caring for customers and taking safety measures in handling money. Marketing strategies of bulky buying, targeting low prices from wholesalers, product diversification and low pricing all demonstrates a high degree of exercising agency. Agency is also demonstrated in responding to power relations in her marriage through deliberately ignoring the husband i.e. negative reinforcement.	AGENCY

Follow up action: To give contact details for trauma/ bereavement counselling

Appendix H: Data Base and Research Path Summary

This enclosure includes the following:

1. Research sites in Langa
2. Profile of participants
3. Key phases of data analysis
4. Audit trail of work presented and peer reviews
5. List of interviews, participant observations and meetings attended

H 1 : Research sites in Langa

Langa is geographically located along the main highway (N2) that connects Cape Town Airport and Cape Town City. The township is surrounded by the industrial area, Epping to the North and other suburbs Athlone to the south, Bonteheuval on the East and Pinelands on the East Side. Of significance to the study is Epping Industrial area which provides wholesale supplies for merchandise in the form of fruit and vegetables and other processed food stuffs from manufacturing industries in Epping. Within Langa, data was mainly drawn from trading sites within and surrounding the taxi rank. Public transport hubs in townships attract many commuters and market for traders 'merchandise as indicated on the map below, on areas surrounding zone 16 terminus business hub. I also drew data from participants operating home based liquour business near the taxi rank and another along the taxi route as taxis enter Langa from the N2 side.

H 2: Profile of participants (table and biographical information)

Participant	Type of business	Age group	Highest level of education	Marital status	Membership to traders' association
1 Bongi	Hair dresser	26-30	Grade 11	Married	Active member
2.Nosipho	Offals Butcher	41-55	Grade 10	Married	inactive member
3.Nozola	Beef/ Sausage braai	41-55	Grade 8	Widowed	Non- member
4.Linomtha	Vegetable vendor	31-40	Grade 12	Married	inactive LBF member
5.Noluntu	Tuckshop owner	41-55	Grade 7	Widowed	Non member
6.Lebo	Fast foods take away	26-30	Grade11	Married	Non member
7.Phatiswa	Muffin hawker	41-55	Grade 10	Living with boyfriend	Active member
8.Selethu	Shebeen queen	41-55	Matric	Never married	Non member
9.Thobeka	African cuisine caterer/pork braai	56+	Grade 9	Divorced	inactive LBF member
10.Nina	*Spaza* shop operator	41-55	Grade 10	Married	Non member
11.Doris	Open market lamb butcher	56+			Inactive
12. Zukiswa	Open market lamb braai	41-55	Grade 12	Never Married	Non member
13.Khetiwe	Operates pen market lamb butcher and braai	31-40	Grade 8	Married	Non member
14.Noxolo	Caterer / Food Hawker	56+	Grade 7	Widowed	Active member of LDF
15. Amanda	Fruit and vegetable vendor	26-30	Matric	Married	Non-member
16. Constance	Caterer	41-55	Grade 11	Married	Member Langa Trades Association
17. Sofia	Operates a confectionary bakery	41-55	Grade 10	Marrie**d**	Non member
18. Nolufefe	Operates a flea market	41-55	Grade 10	Married	Langa Business Forum (original)
19. Zoleka	Beef and sausage braai	41-55	Grade 8	Separated	Langa Business Forum (Original**)**
20. Tumeka	Fruit and vegetables vendor	26-30	Grade 12	Never Married	Non member
21. Nozuko	Operates an open-market Chicken butchery	56+	Grade11	Divorced	Non member
Pilot study participants					

22.Victoria	Caterer	41-55	Grade 8	Never married	LTA active member
23.Asanda	Open market Chicken butcher	26-30	Matric	Married	Non- member
24.Mandisa	Clothing/chicken/sausages	41-55	Grade 8	Married	LTA active member of
25.Thelma	Cooked chicken feet	41-55	University degree	Never married	Non- member

Key informants

Langa Business Forum chairperson

Langa Business Forum (faction) Chairperson

Langa Development Association chairperson

Langa municipality

H 3: Key Phases of Data Analysis

What?	How?	Why?	When?
Priori-Codes	Start list of codes was created when designing research questions by creating a table which captured expected themes, topics and concepts drawn from the theoretical framework and literature review (See appendix C)	Following Miles and Huberman (1994) and Bazeley (2013) priori- codes assist data analysis by anticipating and organising key themes in advance.	April –May 2013
Pilot study fieldwork Notes	Transcribing, analysing and reporting on data collected in the pilot study (See appendix E pilot study summary).	To test the research instrument for user-friendliness, interview flow, language and to ascertain whether it generated required data according to research questions.	August-November 2013
Field Notes Journal-Early analytical steps	Participant observation notes taken from the time of negotiating entry into the community throughout the fieldwork period used in conjunction with contact summary sheet (See Appendix G)	To capture the salient and relevant themes observed at contact with participant and during participant observation in the main study.	April 2013-June 2014
Vignettes	Recording key events and incidences in the fieldwork that were relevant to main themes and research questions.	The snapshots of incidences served as supportive evidence and examples when writing findings chapters	April 2013-June 2014
Transcribing	Listening to recorded interviews and typing the interviews verbatim.	Transcribing the interviews myself helped me to immerse myself in the data and paid attention to major insights which I recorded as memos	February 2014-March 2015
Memoing	Pulling together data from several cases and reformulating them around certain codes, themes and writing reflective commentaries on some aspects of the data throughout the analytic process. Memos were coded in Nvivo and linked to relevant codes	Memos helped to reflect on the research questions, capturing fresh insights and move from empirical data to conceptual level, developing key categories and develop an understanding of cases	February 2014-July 2015
First level coding	Using Nvivo coding tools I created codes after reading passages from transcriptions line by line to identify main ideas addressed in relation to key concepts of the study. I created a 3 columned codebook (See appendix F).	To create an initial conceptual impression about the data.	July 2014-September 2015
Inter-coder agreement	I asked a team of peers from the writing circle to code a specific transcript and	To remain focused on theoretical concepts when coding, to prepare for the	October 2014

	discussed their coding and naming strategies afterwards.	naming, coding and categorising processes and refine coding process.	
Case Summaries	a narrative technique that analyse participants' short biographies by focusing on the biographical context, trajectories and turning points in relation to key concepts of the study. Case summaries were compared to Nvivo coding summary reports to see the major codes generated by a particular case.	This process was done in preparation for the descriptive writing of the preliminary to create a clear picture of how cases and codes from the data relate to each other to form a bigger whole.	August – September 2015
Pattern Coding	Sorting and merging codes, getting better definitional clarity and comparing cases across and within in order to identify clusters and deepen analysis.	To refine data analysis and reduction	September 2015-December 2016
Organising mechanism	A framework of analysing and making sense of the data by operationalising the concept of Agency into five key dimensions of agency (reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action and evidence of transformation) as defined by the theoretical framework	To answer the central research question using agency as an analytical lens by paying attention to the key components of agency	September 2015-January 2016
Generation of three broad gradations of the five dimensions of agency	Focusing the analysis on agency and developing a criteria of measuring participants' enablement in relations to the five key dimensions.	To make analytical techniques and decisions made in data analysis transparent to ensure methodological reliability	February 2016 - December 2016
Generations of three major profiles of participants according to how they exercised agency	Profiling participants according to how they exercised reflexivity, motivation, rationality, purposive action and transformation.	For the purpose of developing clusters, diversity and allowing generalisation of cases to the case study	January2017-June 2017
Chapters Write up	The findings of the inquiry arranged into chapters of the dissertation	To provide a coherent account of the research project	July 2017 to March 2018

H 4: Audit trail of work presented and peer reviews

Audit trail of work in progress presented

Date	Aspect of Work Presented	Group Audience
15 November 2012	PhD proposal	UCT Sociology department staff and postgraduate students
06 May 2013	Participant observation preliminary findings presentation and report	Supervisor and Peer (Erna)
17 May 2013	Research instrument design table	Writing circle
02 July 2013	SASA conference paper: theoretical framework	Conference in Pretoria
17 July 2013	Report on methodology used in participant observation	Witten report sent to supervisor
29 August 2013	Same above paper presented at Seminar	Stellenbosch University Sociology Department staff and students
26 September 2013	Pilot study presentation: pilot study report	Main supervisor, core- supervisor and peer (Erna Prinsloo)
20 November 2013	Preliminary findings section of the pilot study report: improved use of theory using feedback from the pilot study presentation	Writing circle (Erna Prinsloo, Caroline McGibbon and Chanal)
3 April 2014	Practising rigour in fieldwork- Miles and Huberman	PhD quarterly workshop in Sociology department (Supervisor and 2 PhD students' peers)
21-25 July 2014	Discussion of Literature Review, Methodology and Problem Statement (Notes available)	Next Generation for Social Sciences in Africa cohort and thematic groups of 7 students' ad a group facilitator
3 September 2014	Early analytical steps in qualitative analysis in my study	PhD quarterly workshop in Sociology department, (Supervisor and 2 PhD, students peers)
30 October 2014	Coding exercise at the writing circle (See notes in the data analysis journal)	Associate Professor, PhD Faculty member, 5 PhD students
December 2014	Analytical procedures and insights from the transcriptions	PhD quarterly workshop in Sociology department
May 2015	Methodology Section and Literature Review	Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Dissertation Completion Application Feedback by email
17 September 2015	Preliminary findings	2015 Annual Young Scientist Conference-Johannesburg
18 November 2015	Analytical framework and organising mechanism for writing findings	Writing Circle Lucia, Erna, Kim, Theresa, Aditi
4 December 2015	Organising mechanism of data analysis	Quarterly PhD presentations, Jacques and Erna
04-09 January 2016	Introducing the research project, Abstract of the research project,	Social Science Research Council Writing Seminar small group of 4 South African Postgraduate

	Data analysis and preliminary findings	students and one faculty member from University of Chicago
May 2016	Methodology and Literature Review	Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Dissertation Completion Application Feedback by email
08/12/2016	Generating profile using the organising mechanism-Motivation	Writing circle: Lucia, Kim, Jessy, Teresa, Caroline (Associate Professor, Post doc, and PhD students)
09/12/2016	Using organising mechanism of data analysis to generate profiles-Motivation	PhD End of year supervisory presentation work shop Supervisor and Post doc
16/12/2016	Using organising mechanism of data analysis to generate Profiles-Rationality	PhD End of year supervisory presentation workshop. Supervisor and Post doc
23/12/2016	Using organising mechanism of data analysis to generate Profiles-Rationality	PhD End of year supervisory presentation workshop. Supervisor and Post doc
30/12/2016	Using organising mechanism of data analysis to generate Profiles-Action	PhD End of year supervisory presentation workshop. Supervisor and Post doc
11/12/2016	Using organising mechanism of data analysis to generate Profiles-Action	PhD End of year supervisory presentation workshop. Supervisor and Post doc-Erna Prinsloo
6 June 2017	Feedback on Problem statement, Methodology, Theoretical and Analytical Framework	Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Dissertation Completion Application Feedback by email
01/12/2017	Chapter 5: Structural Constraints	Peer review from Post-doc -Erna Prinsloo
07/12/2017	Chapter 6: Structural opportunities-political freedom	Writing circle: Lucia Theusen and 5 other postgraduate students
14/12/2017	Chapter 6 Structural Constraints	Post- doc feedback-Teresa Perez
08-13/01/2018	Reworking the Methods Chapter and Starting Chapter 9 Findings Chapter on Agency-Motivation	Faculty members and Peers of the Social Sciences Research Council Mellon Mays Graduate Writing Seminar 2018

Appendix H 5: List of Participant interviews, observations and meetings attended

Name of Participant[11]	Interview Date	Participant observation date
Amanda	March 2014	March 2014
Asanda	July 2013	July 2013
Bongi	April 2013	April 2013
Constance	April 2014	April 2014
Doris	February 2014	April 2014
Khetiwe	December 2017	February 2013
Lebo	May 2013	May 2013
Linomtha	April 2013	April 2013
Mandisa	July 2013	July 2013
Nina	May 2014	May 2014
Nolufefe	April 2014	April 2014
Noluntu	April 2013	April 2013
Nosipho	April 2013	April 2013
Noxolo	March 2014	March 2014
Nozuko	May 2014	May 2014
Pamela	April 2013	April 2013
Phatiswa	September 2013	September 2013
Selethu	May 2013	May 2013
Sofia	April 2014	April 2014
Thelma	September 2013	September 2013
Thobeka	June 2013	June 2013
Tumeka	April 2014	April 2014
Victoria	July 2013	July 2013
Zoleka	April 2014	April 2014
Zukiswa	March 2014	March 2014

Key Informant Interviews

Traders' Association leaders

Chairperson Ukhuphuma KweLanga Traders Association	April 2013
Chairperson Langa Business Forum original group	March 2014
Secretary Langa Business Forum Faction	April 2013
Chairperson Langa Business Forum Faction group	May 2014
Deputy Chairperson Langa Development Forum	May 2014
Secretary Langa Development Forum	March 2014

Municipal worker May 2014

[11] Names are pseudonyms

Informal discussants (Community members of Langa) from Langa Business from Traders' Association meetings attended on:

Date	**Attendees**
11 April 2013	7 Traders including leaders
14 May 2013	17 Traders including leaders (LBF intersectorial meeting)
16 May 2013	8 Traders including leaders
06 June 2013	7 Traders including leaders
23 September 2013	6 Traders including leaders
30 September 2013	4 Traders including leader

Appendix I

I 1: Comparative analysis on the dimension of motivation: Adapted from Miles and Huberman (1994:128-130)

Participant	Key quotation relating to motivation theme	Brief summary and thematic analysis in relation to criteria
Amanda on: **Aspirations for betterment of circumstances.** **Meeting Survival needs** **Social influence** **Conformity to social values** **Self-reliance and independence** **Persistence and determination**	*I stayed the whole year without working neh?.... Then that thing stressed me.* *We need to feed we need to eat* *Another friend of mine. She is the one who always said, "Try something, sell drinks.* *We need to feed my husband's father there I need to feed my parents.* *So we could not rely on one salary… what if my husband loses his job? And what if he abandons me? What will I do?* *I did [sold] from the house but it ended nowhere because I was sick and I was pregnant…. I don't want to give up even if my business is small.* *My plans of doing business are to sell something that is cooked, full meal but I'm challenged by not having a place you understand.*	Amanda, a lady in her late twenties had just started her fruit and vegetables business and her business was the youngest of all. The initial drive to operate the business stemmed from the desire to improve her circumstances of protracted unemployment, and providing basic survival needs like food. Her previous job as a loans sales consultant ended because of low sales and the job was commission based. Influenced by friends, Amanda started by placing her small fruit and vegetables lot under Nina's *spaza* shop. Her motivation for starting the business was also prompted by wanting to conform to social values of providing for one's parents. Amanda expressed a strong sense of being motivated by self-reliance and independence rather than depending on a husband. She expressed determination to continue the operation of her business despite setbacks and constraints that she encountered on a daily basis. For that reason, she has set practical long-term steps which are still to be implemented as the business was still in its early days (four months). In terms of the criteria stated above Amanda fits in the profile of moderate level of motivation because she demonstrates aspirations to go beyond mere subsistence by wanting to expand her business. She shows a strong sense of ownership of business although she was influenced by others to start her business. She has demonstrated persistence and optimism. However, there are no

Practical steps taken in relation to goals		clear –cut concrete steps taken as yet to show motivation to achieve desired goals beyond statement of goals and aspirations hence the moderate level profile.
Bongi on: **Aspirations for betterment of circumstances** **Goal orientation** **Meeting survival needs** **Self-reliance and independence** **Social values** **Social influence** **Persistence and determination** **Practical steps taken in relation to goals**	*Because I noticed that the money I was making was a lot but the money I was getting paid was little. I didn't get it the same way that I was making it* *No, it's just to extend my business. Like maybe to buy a car that will do business so that there will be another business assisting this existing business.* *It's just that I care about it and I know that I am committed to it and there is no other thing that I will survive on.* *I didn't want to be dependent [on the employer] I wanted to be self-employed that I also become one of the traders* *It's [the goals] to raise my child, she gets educated and become a person that she wants to become till she is grown and that she is able to work for herself* *Yes, apparently like you see my salon is here in the location [township], I wish it should be like those at the terminus at the taxi rank.* *Yes, I will wait for them until they come because I know that a business has its own time, you see, I don't say when they are not then I say, "no, they will never be there".* She sells a variety of products, cosmetics in addition to hairdos and is active in different organisations (participant observation notes)	At the time of the study, Bongi has been operating her hair-dressing salon for 10 years having worked in a hairdressing salon before. Her motivation for operating her business was that she was not satisfied with the money that she was paid by her employer. While she was meeting her survival needs she wanted more than just survival needs. She also expresses her motivation in terms of wanting to be independent, autonomous and achieve a sense of identity as a trader. She has set higher goals like giving her child good education thus going beyond mere subsistence and is also motivated to expand her salon as another goal. She is optimistic about the feasibility of the market as she perseveres in times of slow business. As evidence of concrete steps taken to achieve goals she sells a diverse array of products including cosmetics ad is actively involved in a number of associations like trading, housing and political organisation in the bid to realise her dreams. Bongi falls in the high motivation profile because she demonstrates motivation to achieve beyond mere subsistence levels. She takes actual steps to achieve her goals by selling a variety of products. Her responses to opportunities and constraints through association with different organisations in pursuit of opportunities and maintaining optimism and persistence in operating business fosters enablement. She takes pride in the operation of her business thus having a strong sense of ownership.

Constance on: **Passion** **Self –reliance and independence** **Meeting survival needs and aspiration** **Goal orientation** **Lack of Practical goals and steps set** **Perseverance** **Social influence**	*I like this, I love cooking.* *I love being independent too. I told myself, let me do this for my hobby, for myself... I want to have money.* *Then after some time, I must retire from this, having some money to look after me* Retirement plans *I must sit down; think about how can I have money so that I must retire by the time it comes* *I always did this work and the business is on and off but still I persevere. Whereas things are not the same as before. Like as far as the years go by, moving forward, things change from the business.* Inherited business from parents	Constance inherited her catering business from her parents who were already deceased at the time of the study. She has been operating the business for nine years at the time of the study. She used to work in restaurants but stopped due to closures of businesses and ending of contracts. Constance expresses her motivation to do her business mainly in terms of passion and independence and a hobby. Her goals relate to subsistence in as far as she needs to save money to look after her on retirement. There is no evidence of concrete steps taken to meet the desired goals. Constance lies in the low motivation profile due to her lack of high achievement goals and concrete steps to demonstrate desire to achieve beyond subsistence. Her expression of doing business for a hobby and for having money indicates a low level of motivation coupled by an absence of a desire to set any other goals.

Appendix I 2: Analytical procedures for cluster generation derived from meta-codes and criteria

Dimension	Category of Dimension	Criteria questions
Reflexivity	**Self-efficacy** **Trading and broader environment, opportunities and constraints** **Relationship with significant others**	**To what extent did participants' reflections:** (1) on self-efficacy indicated by awareness of own motivations, skills, attributes and decisions foster enablement? (2) manifested knowledge of the external business environment that affected her trading and applied such knowledge in ways that fostered enablement? (3) on relationships with significant others foster enablement.
Motivation	**Aiming to meet subsistence needs** **Seeking to satisfy security and protection needs** **Desire for autonomy and independence** **Passionate drive** **Motivated by social identity needs- social values and influence**	**To what extend were participants driven by:** (1 Subsistence needs in the short-term, medium-term and long-term goal-orientation? (2) Security and protection needs in the short-term, medium-term or long-term (3) Autonomy needs in ways that influenced short-term, medium-term or long-term goals? (4) Passion for their businesses and motivation from within themselves in ways that fostered short-term, medium-term and long-term goals (5) The need to balance conformity to social values and achieving short-term, medium-term and long term personal goals (6) Following up on goals with actual steps to achieve goals set?
Rationality	**Horizon of thinking**	To what extent did participants' horizons of thinking stretch in relation to the operations of their business? To what extent did participants demonstrate calculative thinking in relation to problem-

Purposive Actions	**Problem-solving strategies and decisions** **Problem-solving strategies and decisions** **Business-orientated Actions** • Managing trading operations • Managing relationships with customers, traders and others • Managing Finances • Developing business-sustaining networks **Family and community-orientated actions**	solving when faced with opportunities, constraints and decision making? To what extent were participants' thinking inspired by collective thinking in ways that enhance their business? (1) To what extent did the participants' business-orientated actions enable the sustainability of business? (2) To what extent did the participants' business-orientated actions enable participant's wellbeing? (3) To what extent did participants manage to strike a balance between family and community-orientated actions with business-orientated actions in ways that promoted business sustainability?
Evidence of transformation	**Trading influence on income generation and material family support** **Trading influence on practising familial and social values that reinforce cultural identity** **Trading influence on family and social relationships** **Personal- development opportunities**	**To what extend did the operation of the trading business lead to change in the participants' wellbeing outcomes[12] through**: (1) income generation leading to more independence, autonomy and empowerment and supporting family members materially (2) practicing family value priorities relating to cultural identity (3) enjoying peaceful and supportive family relationships that promoted holistic wellbeing (4) pursuing personal development projects and building networks

[12] Sen's Capabilities approach was crucial in determining wellbeing outcomes beyond income generation to include: quality relationships, gaining autonomy and empowerment opportunities, ability to educate children and others valued by participants as embedded in their narratives.

Appendix J: The quality of the inquiry

Ethical validation

De Vos et al. (2007:57) define ethics as

> "... a set of moral principles [,] which is suggested by an individual or group[, and] is subsequently widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students."

The classic principle of humane conduct binds all researchers to adhere to moral and ethical considerations (Miles et al., 2014:56). I got ethical clearance from the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town to ensure that the study complied with the expected ethical requirements. The ethical principles that I followed in relation to my participants included informed consent, anonymity, non-deception and non-harmful activity as outlined by De Vos et al. (2007), Babbie and Mouton (2007) and Miles et al. (2014:56). I undertook to be open and honest about my research in all my dealings with the research participants and I did not involve them in an activity that harmed them. Participants granted informed consent to participate in the study by completing the consent form (Appendix A). Angen (2000:388) argues that ethical validation necessitates research that provide "some practical answers to the so-what question", thus research should inform social practice, as interpretive research cannot be separated form real-life contexts. I chose my research topic with the aim of informing development practice through seeking to understand how agency contributes to poverty and development policy. I proposed a diagnostic tool for classifying people into profiles of enablement in relation to agency, as presented in Chapter 13. My research was thus educative and empowering.

Substantive validation

Substantive validation refers to evaluation of the research which pays attention to the substance of the inquiry and ensures the consolidation of multiple, contextual and inter-subjective understanding of the chosen topic (Angen, 2000:390). According to Angen (2000:390-391), criteria for substantive validation include rigour, reflexivity, credibility coherence, and resonance. I draw on these factors to show how they contributed significantly to substantive validation and enhanced the quality of my research.

Rigour

De Wet and Erasmus (2005) argue for transparency in analytical procedures to ensure methodological rigour. Rigour is defined as "researchers' adoption of verification strategies and self-correcting mechanisms (at each stage during the research process) to actively work towards reliability and validity in the analysis of qualitative data" (Morse et al., 2002 cited in De Wet & Erasmus, 2005:28). For De Wet and Erasmus (2005), systematic analysis refers to conscious use of procedures in such a way that all the parts fit into a broader, structural whole. I consistently kept analytical memos and notes in a Data Analysis Journal about decisions that I made in relation to coding and other analytical procedures and kept an audit trail of work presented at various academic spaces and these proved useful at later stages later in explaining and motivating how I reached my conclusions (Bazeley, 2013:134). (Refer Appendix H4 for audit trail of work presented). In addition, I presented my work to peers and faculty members, who were knowledgeable about the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study, at several workshops, seminars and an on-campus writing circle. They provided useful feedback. To make inter-coder reliability more rigorous, I took sections of my interview transcriptions to the writing circle for coding by peers–to ascertain whether my coding was consistent. These practices ensured reliability, enabled me to refine my coding, and alerted me to subjective biases, amongst other things (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005; Bazeley, 2013).

Reflexivity

Self-reflexivity entails the researcher's engagement with vigilant self-critical awareness, as subjective biases are inherent in qualitative research (Angen, 2000:390). Biases emanate from the researcher's socio-historical context, the influence of similar previous research, and contact with experts on the topic. I reflected on my interpretations of participants' decisions and challenged my own thinking. I made conscientious efforts to remind myself of my different class and socio-historical background to my participants, despite racial similarities. This knowledge alerted me to correct my misconceptions about certain findings. For example, I was initially tempted to evaluate transformation emanating from the traders' trading solely on income as postulated by popular market and income perspectives. After consulting Sen's work on wellbeing outcomes, I took a more multi-dimensional approach to understanding poverty and development. Angen (2000:390) also warns about careful consideration in cross-cultural language use when communicating understanding of a research topic. I knew that isiXhosa was not my first language; hence, when transcribing the interviews from isiXhosa to English, I

crosschecked translations with an isiXhosa-speaking research assistant for verification purposes.

Credibility

Credibility addresses questions of "truth value". Thus, it is crucial to ascertain whether the findings make sense, are believable to the people we study and to our readers, and there is an authentic portrayal of what the research sought to investigate (Miles & Huberman 1994: 278). To ensure credibility of my research, I needed to show that: (1) my findings were a true reflection of matters investigated and that they rang true for the women traders who contributed to the study. (2) Trustworthy methods were used to produce high quality data and that methods could withstand systematic analysis. (3) Theoretical concepts and their relationships were used to guide the descriptive study. (4) I conducted the study in a natural setting, with integrity. (5) I conformed to the interpretive approach to inquiry (Miles & Huberman, 1994:278). By using appropriate methods (in-depth interviews and participant observation), I found answers to my central research question and sub-questions. In addition, the sampling procedures of purposively selecting 25 participants, who were from a similar language group and engaged in trading, I was able to get responses from people who experienced the phenomenon under investigation.

Multiple sources of data helped to triangulate the data. Bazeley (2013:406) argues that triangulation as a strategy for validation involves obtaining one or more alternative sources of data, comparing inferences drawn from the data with those obtained in the first instance. When I interviewed key informants, I found that the responses confirmed participants' in-depth interviews thus providing supportive evidence on phenomena investigated, for example, constraints associated with power encountered by traders in traders' associations and municipality services. Prolonged engagement in the field (April 2013 to May 2014, and December 2017) and my ongoing visits to the field after completion of data collection also added value to the study by providing extra time to uncover certain nuances of the data that I would otherwise have lost had I left fieldwork too soon.

Member checking is "the process of returning analyses to informants for the confirmation of accuracy" as an important strategy for validation. However, among the controversies surrounding the strategy are: (1) the assumption of measuring accounts for fixed truth or reality; (2) processes leading to confusion rather than confirmation, as participants may have changed their minds about the issue since the interviewing process; and (3) respondents disagreeing with the researcher's interpretation, creating a question of whose interpretation stands (Angen, 2000:383; Bazeley, 2013:409). I chose not to do member checking regarding conclusions for these reasons and in agreement with Angen (2000:383). I nonetheless followed Bazeley's (2013:408) recommendations on seeking clarity on uncertainties in the study by checking back with some participants.

Resonance

Resonance refers to representation of the perspectives of participants and fullness of the studied experience (Bazeley, 2000:405). Angen (2000:390-391) asserts that written accounts of research must demonstrate thoroughness and comprehensiveness of understandings used to reach interpretations that the reader understands and gets an authentic impression and sense of familiarity with the work. My findings explicitly demonstrated how I reached conclusions about the agency clusters of my participants, for example, by showing empirically derived categories of agency dimensions. I developed a criterion of measuring enablement in relation to agency and subjected participants to within-case analysis to establish patterns, clusters and profiles, thus, making clear links between theoretical constructs, data, empirical evidence and argument in a consistent way to deepen understanding of phenomena and build confidence in the findings (Appendix I). When presenting the findings, I paid attention to weighting the evidence comprehensively by stating the number of participants experiencing a phenomenon and those that did not, following Bazeley's (2013) advice on accounting for cases. By accounting for negative cases, I presented the findings more comprehensively and convincingly.

Meaningful coherence

A meaningfully coherent study is one which achieves what it purports to do, uses methods and procedures that fit well with espoused theories and paradigms, and meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings and interpretations with one another (Tracy, 2010: 840, 848). My study met the coherence hallmark by employing a case study methodology

appropriately to my central research question, following a robustly developed theoretical framework to guide the conceptual and analytical process in an interconnected way as discussed above. A relevant in-depth literature review helped to situate my findings, and appropriate data collection methods and a well-developed interview schedule elicited rich data and allowed more nuanced interpretation of findings. Tracy (2010:848) argues for member reflections as opposed to member checking, as the former acknowledge that reality in interpretivist research is socially constructed. Hence, member reflections provided space for additional data, reflection and complexity. Peer reviews enhanced the coherence of my study. Peer reviewing occurs when "two or more researchers debate the various issues in a research project and eventually come to a reasoned consensus about the issues" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:276). Arguably, member reflections are often criticised by some interpretivist researchers for not adding value to the inquiry as they lack the insider perspective of the main researcher (Angen, 2000:384; Bazeley, 2013:409). However, as an emergent researcher, I found feedback from peer reviews to be immensely valuable to my research project and contributed to my growth. I presented my theoretical framework as a conference paper entitled, *Giddens, Sen and a Group of isiXhosa-speaking Women Traders*, at the South African Sociological Association Conference in Pretoria, South Africa in July 2013. In September 2015, I presented my preliminary findings at the 2015 Annual Young Scientist Conference. As indicated in the Audit Trail (Appendix H4) of work presented throughout my PhD research, I presented quarterly to a supervisory workshop and writing circle at different stages of the research—from the pilot study findings to the writing up stage—and received feedback and guidance from my supervisor, senior postgraduate students and post-doctoral peers. These presentations and supervisory sessions helped me to reflect on analytical decisions, writing techniques, biases, subjectivity, and to consolidate my dissertation, and enhanced the quality and coherence of my research.

Transferability

One of the most commonly cited limitations of case study methodology is the lack of generalisability from sample to population (Miles & Huberman, 1994:279). I dealt with the lack of generalisability of findings by using triangulation contributions from the theoretical framework, Giddens' Structuration Theory and Sen's Capabilities Approach to generalise the application of theory to other settings and not findings *per se* (Tellis, 1997; Yin, 2009:38). In addition, by choosing a sample size of 25, it was possible to generate profiles that would not

have been the case with a lower sample size. The sample chosen for the study was representative of women traders in South African township communities providing validity to the findings.